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A

NEW DISQUISITION,

Philosophical and Political,

CONCERNING

THE SOCIETY OF THE JESUITS,

AND THE

CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

OF

THEIR DESTRUCTION.

FAITHFULLY TRANSLATED

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A

NEW DISQUISITION

CONCERNING THE

SOCIETY OF THE JESUITS.

INTRODUCTION.

OF all the human institutions which owe their rise to genius, virtue, or circumstance, the society of the Jesuits has perhaps been the theme of the most high-flown panegyric, and the most bitter invective. The advocates of this celebrated society, place it at the head of the finest productions of the human mind: they give it a decided preference over all pre-existing establishments in utility to learning, morals, religion, and policy. Its enemies, on the other hand, maintain, that it is alike fatal to morality and government. They assert, that if it loudly professed to devote its zeal to the education of youth, to the reform of morals, to the cultivation of the arts and sciences, it was, in reality, but an as-

semblage of ambition, under the guise of hypocrisy, that aimed at universal dominion, by the most odious and criminal of means.

That this society has had celebrity, is agreed on all hands. That it has performed a leading part in the schools, and on the theatre of almost every government in Europe, is an incontestable fact, not denied either by its flatterers or slanderers. Its successes, its failures, the causes of its fall, become then fair and open field to the historian. Astonished at the enormity of the charges preferred against it, I have carefully examined them with the authenticated annals of the nations in which they were accused. Having cleared away my doubts, and dissipated my suspicions, I cherished the pleasing conviction, that it would be useful and acceptable to my countrymen, to communicate to them the genuine results of the enquiries I made for my own instruction. I shall speak as freely of the enemies of the society as of its advocates; I shall quote the testimony of kings, of the ministers of different sovereigns, of the learned of different nations, all tending to throw daylight upon its history and its importance. I shall examine with rigorous scrupulosity, the principal charges of accusation against it, namely, regicide, ambition, avarice, and loose morals. In a word, I shall close the disquisition by some observations upon the necessary consequences of its destruction in France and other countries.

I declare truly, upon my honour, that I neither am a Jesuit, nor was I educated by any Jesuit.—Born some few years before the commencement of those revolutionary movements which have shaken

the foundations of social order, and all the thrones in Europe, I could not have imbibed from my education any of those prejudices which were likely to lead my mind astray, with reference either to the utility, or the vices, of that learned body. The reader, therefore, cannot, with a shadow of justice, impute it to me, that I have written any portion of this disquisition, which is purely historical, with a party bias, or under the prejudices of a Jesuitical education. With the love of truth at heart, and the light of criticism in view, I shall expose the facts as they really are, and support them with authentic documents and irrefragable evidence.

Why should it appear strange that I take this subject in hand? Has not a distinguished writer lately favoured the public with a history of the Templars? And why may I not as freely call its attention to that of the Jesuits? The order of the Knights Templars has ceased to exist for five centuries. Sunk under the weight of that authority which anathematized it, it never rose from its ashes. The society of Jesuits was more numerous and more widely dispersed, and cast more brilliancy over the literary and learned world then the Templars. Fifty-five years only are gone by, since the society was suppressed in France; and at this hour, having suddenly arisen from its tomb, it has revived with all its ancient privileges, under the pontificate of Pius VII, throughout the kingdoms of Spain, Naples, and Sardinia. Amongst us, it numbers very many enemies, several of whom have assailed it in recent publications and periodical prints. The discussion, therefore, of its history, its character, and the con-

sequences of its abolition, will naturally create a general interest, and arrest the attention of men of literature.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Origin of the Institute of the Jesuits.

HENRY VIII had driven England into schism; Luther's heresy was making rapid progress in Germany; and France having been recently honoured with the noble title of *The most Christian Kingdom,* was becoming the theatre of error, and the victim of civil war; when Ignatius of Loyola, a Spanish nobleman, who had in his youth served in the army of his country with distinction, laid at Paris the foundation of that celebrated order, since known under the appellation of *The Society of Jesus.* At first, this extraordinary man confined his views to the planting of the cross in Palestine and the adjoining countries. But this plan having from various circumstances failed, he adopted one upon a larger scale, and of more general utility to religion. To make head against the new errors, which threatened to become so fatal to the peace of Europe, to extend the empire of christianity to the utmost boundaries of the globe, he resolved upon establishing a society of apostolical men, who should at the same time be men of science. In the former capacity they were destined not only to brave the prejudices of civilized nations, but the barbarism of savages, by

carrying the light of the Gospel into the deepest gloom of superstition and idolatry: in the latter, they were to be devoted in retirement to the attainment of science, in order to train up youth to learning, at the same time that they were taught the social and religious virtues, or by their solid writings to refute heresy, and defend the faith of the church.

This certainly was a sublime plan, and argued in Ignatius an elevated mind, and a heart capable of vast designs. It was the high-minded effort of a noble ambition, which had no longer for its object, as formerly, the vain-glory which was to be tinged with the blood of his fellow-creatures, but the spotless and solid glory of giving happiness to mankind. Ignatius succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectation of human foresight. Though, at the time of his death, the society had not existed more than sixteen years, Xavier, one of his first disciples, had already baptized with his own hand above a million of idolaters, and brought thirty kingdoms under the yoke of Christ. A hundred colleges were under the direction of the Jesuits, as well in Germany and Italy, as in Spain and Portugal. The very name of their institute had become formidable to the new heresies, as it so sensibly checked their progress, and, of course, excited their jealousy and provoked their vengeance.

Such was the origin of that famed society, which calls upon the interest and attention of the public, both in its prosperity and its adversity, and recommends itself particularly to the interference of every legislature throughout christendom. In a religious

point of view, it was the vigorous effort of an ardent zeal roused into action by the successful progress of new errors, bringing into the field a most formidable force to oppose them. No one therefore can be sincerely attached to the faith of the Catholic church, without applauding the designs of Ignatius, and admiring his plans for crowning them with success. In a political point of view, the origin of the society loudly claims the veneration of sovereigns, and the gratitude of their subjects. For, as religious schism is but too frequently the fatal fuel of civil dissension, to make head against the new separatists in faith, is to be on the watch for the security of the throne, it is to arm talent against error, and preserve the tranquillity of nations. These observations have peculiar relevancy to the rise and progress of the society, which took place at the very time when, by discarding all spiritual power and substituting the pride of intellect for the christian tradition of ages, Luther and Calvin gave a convulsive shock to the foundations of every government, brought the Germanic constitution within an ace of its ruin, and threw a firebrand of discord into the heart of France and of Germany, which set the four corners of the civilized world in flames.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Jesuits' Enemies.

WHENEVER a person indicted for a crime is arraigned in a court of justice, and pleads not guilty, the judge, who is armed with authority to try him, must hear and impartially canvass the whole of the evidence, before he can be found guilty. Whatever discussion and argument the case may undergo, the judge never must lose sight of the law, he must with unbending rigour point out the relevancy of the evidence in all its bearings to the matter at issue, and must sift to the bottom all the views, motives, and designs, not only of the prosecution, but of all the witnesses brought forward to support it, and also their private characters and relations to the person arraigned. For should he possess a fair and honest character, should he have rendered meritorious services to the state, and on the other hand should any personal pique, revenge, interest, party, or notorious profligacy, be discovered in the witnesses, then must the court presume upon the innocence of the party accused, acquit him, and pronounce the prosecution malicious. There may indeed be instances, in which, from the extravagance, exaggeration, or inconsistency of the witnesses, their credibility is so blighted, that, without proceeding farther, the court will honourably dismiss the party arraigned.

The society of the Jesuits I consider as a renowned individual, arraigned before the tribunal of the public of high crimes and misdemeanors, never even before heard of, and I feel it my duty, to draw from the character of their accusers, very important lights, vitally affecting the issue of their case now before the public.

In looking into the ecclesiastical annals of France, it appears, that the parliaments, the university, and some of the monastic orders, opposed their establishment in this kingdom. Yet could I not draw from that opposition any decisive result, as to their guilt or innocence. It is fair to ascribe that first persecution of the society, partly to an anxiety for the public good, and partly to views of personal interest.

The novelty and peculiarity of the institute of St. Ignatius, and the numerous indults and privileges imparted to the society by the holy see, set the parliaments against it. The origin moreover of the order, which reckoned amongst its principal founders and supporters both Spaniards and Italians, created in the sovereign courts a jealous apprehension, lest under pretext of preaching the gospel, and improving the education of the rising generation, the members of the society would foment troubles in the state, and become fatal to its tranquillity in the hour of an awful crisis, which would expose it to the horrors and precarious issue of a war between France and Spain, which were then divided by opposite political interests. It was not unnatural to mistrust a novel institution set on foot by natives of an enemy's country.

Less honourable motives actuated the prejudices of the university against the sons of Loyola. The education which they gave was all gratuitous, and their success was unparalleled. The credit of the university consequently declined, and the number of its scholars diminished. Such was the grievance of this eldest daughter of the kings of France, laid by them to the account of these new instructors. Henry the fourth's answer to the president Harlay, is a full voucher for my assertions. "The univer-"sity," said that monarch, "thwarted them, either "because they did their duty better than others, "(witness the vast concourse of scholars to their "colleges,) or because they were not incorporated "with the university, which will not be refused to "be done, when I shall have ordered it, and when "I shall see that they stand in need of being better "regulated."

In a word, when the fathers of the society came into France to found colleges there, there existed in that kingdom the orders of Benedictins, Dominicans, Franciscans, and several other religious institutions, devoted to teaching and the promotion of science: a very sincere conviction might then be entertained, that the institute of St. Ignatius was at that time useless in France: we may easily imagine, that several of these pre-existing societies, respectable for their antiquity and services, beheld the new adventurers with a jealous eye, as coming to oppose or break in upon the subsisting institutions. From the experience of ages, and the knowledge of the human heart, we must frankly own, that corporate bodies, as well as individuals, are not always

exempted from the attacks of self love; more especially, when the views of personal interest can be plausibly covered with the mantle of public good.

Whatever be the case, we will no longer insist upon this first persecution, which the society suffered in France. In process of time, and even at that very period, they had in many states of Europe, enemies of a much more formidable cast to encounter; the professed reformers of every denomination, the disciples of Jansens, and the incredulous of the eighteenth century. In reasoning upon the character of these formidable enemies of the society, we hope to offer to the reader many reflections, which will throw a great body of light upon the historical question of the guilt or innocence of the Jesuits.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Huguenots.

THE van of the Jesuits' host of enemies should naturally consist of all who assume credit for having become reformers.

It is no marvel, that Luther and Calvin should have conceived an irreconcilable hatred of those, who so incessantly, and so powerfully, made head against the erroneous novelties, by which they assailed the doctrines of the Catholic church.

To check the progress of this assumed reformation, the society encouraged and brought forward

able writers, experienced teachers, and zealous missionaries: it introduced and set on foot spiritual retreats, pious congregations, public conferences, private consultations, frequent and eloquent discourses from the pulpit. Fathers Laynez, Salmeron and le Jay were consulted by, and had great weight upon, the fathers of the council of Trent, in drawing up the decrees by which the erroneous novelties of those two leaders of reformation were condemned. Bellarmine took the field against them, with all the advantages of extensive knowledge and close reasoning. Truth, aided by the powerful talents of this writer, produced such an abundant crop in the vineyard, and threw so much awe and terror into the ranks of the enemy, that the consummate politician, queen Elizabeth of England, thought she could not more essentially serve the cause of the reformation, than by establishing a public *anti-bellarminian* institution; so called from the end of its establishment, which was so refute whatever works should come from Bellarmine's pen against the reformation. Father Canisius was called the apostle of Germany, because the numbers of strayed sheep, which he brought back to the fold, placed him on a rank with the first founders of christianity in that country: and father Edmund Auger had converted to the Catholic faith many thousand Calvinists, before he was brought up to court to be the spiritual director of Henry III.

The foundation of colleges, was the efficacious mean used by the fathers of the society for keeping up the ancient faith. Attracted by the fame of these professors, the youth of the most distinguished fa-

milies flocked from all quarters with eagerness to avail themselves of their instructions, and imbibed from these men of science, as well as virtue, a horror of innovation, and steadiness to the primitive faith of the church. The catholic princes also of Germany, who wished to preserve their states from the heresies and schism, which then were pervading so many other kingdoms, were unceasingly renewing their applications for members of the society of Jesus, to be appointed teachers and rectors of the colleges within their dominions. The renowned cardinal Commendon, whose political experience and wisdom kept pace with his heroic virtues, hesitated not to recommend the extension of the order of St. Ignatius, as the infallible means of giving effect and execution to the decrees of the council of Trent, in defiance of all the counter efforts of the heretics of his day. "I know," said that cardinal, (as spoke also most of the ambassadors and particularly the count de Luna) "I know that the exe-
"cution of many of your decrees will meet with op-
"position in Germany: but you ought not to be dis-
"heartened; with the aid of the fathers of the so-
"ciety of Jesus you may surmount all difficulties.
"Such is the conviction of his imperial majesty, of
"the princes, and even of the people of Germany.
"With us these fathers have already given proofs of
"what is to be expected from their zeal. Their
"exemplary conduct, their preaching, their colleges
"have hitherto supported, and still do support the
"catholic religion amongst us. Multiply then the
"Jesuits, multiply their colleges, their academies,

" and the fruit which religion will reap from them, " will be incredible."*

Thus is the society to expect the hatred of all protestants. Their very name is odious to the party. The princes who encouraged the reformation in their states, were as averse from confiding the education of their youth to those fathers, as the catholic princes were anxious to multiply their colleges, and extend their flourishing institution. They carried their fanaticism, with reference to the disciples of St. Ignatius, to the excess of making it criminal in parents, to send their children into foreign countries, to be educated in any of their colleges. The calumnies which have been invented in these latter days, to discredit them with the public, are but a fastidious repetition of the enormities charged against them by the early reformers, to blacken them in the eyes of all the nations of Europe, by covering them with infamy and ridicule. Thus in the year 1617, in the memorial which the ministers of Charenton presented to cardinal Richelieu, they roundly charged the society with maintaining kingkilling doctrine. This flat calumny, which has since been so frequently and so successfully renewed, produced not the desired effect upon the cardinal minister, who an-

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* " I Gesuiti hanno ormai dimostrato in Germania, quello " che se ne posse sperare in effetto, poichè solamente con la " buona vita, et con le prediche, et con le scuole loro, vi hanno " ritenuta et vi sostentano tuttavia la religion cattolica; on- " dè non è dubbio, che quando si facessero molti collegii, et " molte scuole ondè si potessero avere molti operarii, *sene caver-* " *ebbe frutto incredibile.*" See the registers of cardinal Commendon, the registers of the legates, and the instructions of the count de Luna, ambassador of the emperor.

swered the four heads of the reformers in these words. "You would have holden another language "upon this topic, had you, in lieu of taking it from "the writings of an individual, received it from the "mouth of their general, who in 1610 made a pub- "lic declaration, by which he not only disavowed, "but strictly inhibited every one of his order, un- "der the most grievous penalties, to hold that it is "lawful, under any pretext of tyranny whatso- "ever, to attempt the life of a sovereign."*

It must be allowed, that this hatred of the Jesuits, which was so ferocious in the first reformers, has been considerably softened down by time, in proportion as their unfounded prejudices against the Catholics have been dispersed, and their horrors of the see of Rome have become less violent. There lurks however at bottom so much of the old leaven, that the sore place cannot be touched without producing a new fermentation; witness the late debates of the British parliament upon the question of Catholic emancipation Amongst the members who declined supporting a measure of so much equity and sound policy, several grounded their opposition upon the restoration of the order of the Jesuits, by his holiness Pius VII.

This inveterate hatred of the Jesuits is not confined to the reformers; some (called indeed) Catholic writers, who without giving into the reformation entirely, but manifesting a favourable bias towards

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* The principal points of the Catholic faith, against the writing addressed to the king, by the four ministers of Charenton.

it, have outrun the most infuriate of their reformed friends in displaying their inveteracy and rage against the society of Jesus. Of this last was the president *de Thou*, rather an impartial writer upon every subject, except that of religion: he assumes and acuminates the Protestant prejudices and calumnies against the Jesuits; he is sympathetically lenient to the Huguenots, panegyrising the talents and virtues of that party. Of the like cast was the lawyer *Pasquier*, under Henry III, who pleaded against that order before the university. He was the author of an exhortation to all princes, written with a view of enforcing the necessity he maintained they were under, of countenancing and admitting into their states the disciples of Calvin: his impartiality for the Jesuits is too remarkable not to furnish the reader with some few samples of it. In his *Jesuits' Catechism*, after playing upon these instructors of youth by all manner of endearing terms and fulsome flattery, he treats their founder, St. Ignatius, without any ceremony, as a *knight errant*, an *impostor*, and a *liar*; an *hypocrite, who wished to be taken for Jesus Christ; a glutton, a regicide, another Manès, worse than Luther, an incarnate demon; as the grand Turk, a great ass and another don Quixote*. He is equally moderate in his language concerning St. Francis Xavier, the apostle of the east, whose heroic virtues have been the admiration of the whole world. In his eyes he is *an hypocrite, a Machiavel, a successor of the heresiarch Manès*. All his miracles are to be reckoned as *fairy tales:* that all Jesuits are the *scorpions of France: so far from being the first*

pillars of the holy see, they are its first plunderers. They ought not to be called *the order of Jesuits,* but the order *of Jessites; because they sell the sacraments by wholesale, at a higher price than Giezi wished to sell the gift of miracles to Naaman. Every Jesuit is a Judas: in Jesuitism there is much Judaism. Even as the ancient Jews persecuted Jesus Christ, so do these modern Jews persecute his apostles. In a word,* in the vows taken by the Jesuits, *there is heresy, machiavelism, and manifest cheat and fraud.*

How wonderful, and, at the same time, how edifying, is this lofty flight of anti-jesuitical zeal? I have, however, passed over in silence the author's observations upon the title of *father,* by which the priests of this order are usually addressed. In that infamous passage, with which I will not defile my pen, the most abandoned lasciviousness is worked up with an excess of sarcasm and abuse. The reading of this invective, equally foolish, indecent, and outrageous, brings forcibly upon our recollection the noble and energetic address of Martin Luther to the pope, whom he terms *a blasted villain, who spits up devils;* the cardinals, *a set of wretches, to be exterminated;* and the whole school of divinity at Louvain, a herd of *beasts, hogs, epicurians, and atheists.* If Pasquier have not soared above these sublime flights, he has certainly made lusty efforts to rival them. What greater honour can the Jesuits aspire to, than to meet such enemies in the front of their battle?

CHAPTER IV.

The Disciples of Jansens.

AFTER the Protestants first come the disciples of Jansens.

I do not here dissemble that I am about to ruffle many prejudices, and excite alarm with a certain party. I set out by rendering homage to the extraordinary genius of Pascal, to the profound erudition of Nicole and Arnauld, and to the brilliant powers of the writers of *Port Royal:* but, without betraying my conscience, I could not approve of the error, to the support of which they lent the powerful aid of their talents, nor compromise the truth of history, to flatter their school. It is imperiously necessary that talent and genius should bow with respect before the infallible tribunal which God has established in his church, to watch over and preserve the sacred deposit of his divine revelation, lest, in process of time, from a love of novelty and spirit of revolt, it becomes corrupted or lost, by being the victim of error, the sport of human passions, and the butt of censure and derision to future generations.

It is an incontestible fact, that the five propositions extracted from the book of Jansens have been condemned by the sovereign pontiffs, and that in the very sense of the author. The bulls issued from the see of Rome leave no room to doubt of the fact. Equally certain is it, that almost every bishop of

the Catholic world has expressly or tacitly approved of the judgment of Rome upon these quarrels of the Jansenists: the opinion, therefore, of the holy see, thus expressed, has become a dogmatical decision, to which every one of the faithful is bounden to pay sincere submission, both of mind and heart. The distinction between fact and right is a mere subtilty, invented by the party to elude the effects of the solemn condemnation of their error. It was unknown to the ages that preceded Jansenism, and tends to prove that the church has constantly usurped a power not given to her by her Divine Founder. She has at all times, resting upon the immutable rock of the divine promises, been in the constant usage of passing judgment upon, and pronouncing anathemas both against heretical books and the persons of heretics. The matter of the five propositions has been long set to rest; and the abettors of those erroneous doctrines, who, as well as the supporters of many other errors, seem to have been lately again awakened, are, in the eyes of every orthodox Catholic, rebels to church authority, and enemies to her decisions.

The Jesuits then would have slept at their posts, or basely deserted the cause of religion, if, unheeding the rapid progress of Jansen's system, or affrighted at the number and consequence of his followers, they had preserved a culpable silence, when the faith of the church was exposed to so much danger. At the very intimation of this new error, they felt themselves called upon to rally all their talents and genius to check it in its first movements. They demonstrated that it was *semi-protestantism*; they

pressed upon the new sect the weight of reason and the authority of past ages; and they contended most vigorously for the authority of the judgments of the church. The fathers Annat, Deschamps, d'Avrigny, Lafitau, and many others of that society, took the field in this conflict of novelty against the ancient faith. But their zeal, which was a duty, became an unpardonable offence in the eyes of the party. From that moment the destruction of the society was resolved upon, with all the address that refined malice could suggest. At the period when the doctrine of probable opinion was prevailing through most of the Catholic schools, several Jesuits, following the stream of the then favourite doctrine, certainly published some propositions of too lax morality. These slips of some individuals were fastened upon the whole body. Pascal, who had enlisted himself under the banners of Jansenism, availed himself of them to decry the society in the eyes of the public, by holding it forth as an ambitious combination of men of science to annihilate the morality of the gospel. In his famous Provincial Letters he poured upon his enemies, with infinite wit and humour, torrents of the bitterest irony and abuse. Every pen of that party was busily employed upon the same subject. France was in a moment inundated with a deluge of publications, worked up in the high rant of fanaticism, to inspire a blind and deadly hatred of the society of Jesus: the institute of St. Ignatius was attacked in every part, and the faithful observers of it were traduced, vilified, and criminated in every possible way. In the year 1781, the president Rolland, in a printed

memorial, scrupled not to make public boast of the inveteracy with which he worked at the destruction of the order. We there read this important avowal: "The affair of the Jesuits alone has cost me above "sixty thousand livres out of my own money.— "They would not have been destroyed, if I had not "devoted to that work my time, my health, and my "purse." What manner of justice could the fathers expect at the hands of such judges?

These repeated charges proved fatal to the society. A large portion of the public, who always side with the majority, and give readier credit to vice than to virtue, concluded in the persuasion, that the Jesuits, under an affected zeal for Catholicity, were at bottom men of inordinate ambition, devoted to intrigue, and demoralizers of mankind. And the parliaments, then more bent upon favouring Jansenism than administering justice, persecuted the society to every excess, till at last they prostrated it under the weight of their ferocious decrees.

The parliamentary zeal in devoting the society to forfeiture, banishment, and disgrace, drew from d'Alembert this flattering compliment to them:— "The chambers of the parliaments deal not in "mortmain: they serve the cause of reason without "suspicion; they execute summary justice on be- "half of the philosophers, from whom they take "their orders, without knowing it. It is philoso- "phy, properly speaking, that has, from the mouths "of the parliamentary magistrates, passed sentence "upon the Jesuits. Jansenism was but the solicitor "in the cause."

CHAPTER V.

Of the Unbelievers of the Eighteenth Century.

IN order to be convinced, that the unbelievers of the 18th century had formed the project of destroying religion in France, it is only requisite to read the genuine correspondence of the heads of that impious confederacy. It exhibits, in strong colouring, men animated with an infuriated hatred of christianity, concerting measures for debasing and annihilating it, communicating in the effusion of their guilty connections with each other, their mutual hopes and fears for the issue of the fatal combination, animating themselves reciprocally by impious tests and formulas to foment this sacrilegious prostitution of intellect, which tramples under foot the first duties to the Creator, blights in the bud every religious and social virtue, rends asunder without shame or remorse all the ties of conscience, and shakes to the base, the foundation of every state.

Such men therefore never could approve of the existence of any religious order: and of all those venerable institutions, the society of Jesus was that which eminently excited their rage and provoked their attacks. The powerful influence, which it exercised over the minds of all, who practised morality and religion, was an unexpiable crime before the tribunal of philosophy, and was the direct cause of the unbelievers determination to destroy the institute of St. Ignatius.

I assert then, in defiance of contradiction, that these strange innovators, were sworn enemies to the Jesuits, and were resolved upon entombing their whole society. The works of the philosophers, the correspondence of Voltaire, d'Alembert, and Frederic king of Prussia, prove it to demonstration.

In opening the correspondence of Voltaire, I perceive this leader of the school of incredulity composing and forcing into circulation arguments against the Jesuits.* If he knew of any man in power at court, who protected the order, he instantly set about depriving it of that advantage. In writing to the duke de Richelieu, he says: † "I am informed, "that your grace has been favouring the Jesuits at "Bourdeaux. Endeavour, I pray your grace, to de- "prive them of whatever credit they have." When he was apprised of the disasters of the society, he felicitated his impious confederates in a style of sarcastic insult, which bespoke the most rancorous wish for their blood and extermination. "I rejoice," says he, "with my noble chevalier (the marquis de "Villevielle) at the expulsion of the Jesuits. Ja- "pan began by driving out those rascals. China "followed Japan. France and Spain are imitating "the Chinese. May they exterminate all religious, "who are not one jot better than Loyola's scoun- "drels. Were they to give the Sorbonne their "own way, they would be worse than the Jesuits. "We are surrounded by monsters: but they do but

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* Lettre au marquis d'Argens de Dirac, 26 Fev. 1762.

† Lettre du 27 Novembre, 1761.

" fire my worthy friend and rouse him to action, " and at the same time warn him to conceal his " movements from the enemy."*

D'Alembert rivalled Voltaire in his zeal against the disciples of St. Ignatius. He styles them *the grenadiers of fanaticism,* in his pamphlet upon their destruction, where he lavishes praise upon La Chalôtais *for having seen, as a philosopher, that a monastic spirit is the plague of a state, and that they ought to begin with the Jesuits, as the most powerful.* When the fathers were forced to quit the college of *Louis le grand,* he wrote that letter to Voltaire, which we quoted in the last chapter, in which he calls *the parliament the executioners of summary justice on behalf of the philosophers, whose orders they take without knowing it;* and in the rapture of his exultation he adds, " As for me, who see " every thing in the most favourable light, I hence- " forth view the Jansenists dying next year of their " quiet death, after having caused the Jesuits to die " this year of a violent death : toleration on its legs, " the Protestants recalled, the priests married, con- " fession done away, and fanaticism crushed without " the people's perceiving it."† This letter gives a fair idea of the philosophic views of this leader of impiety, and of the high consequence he attached to the abolition of the society. In the like ecstasy of his latitudinarian system, he wrote to the same, *Infine, on the 6th of the next month, shall we be delivered of the Jesuitical rabble.*

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* Lettre du 27 Avril, 1767. † Lettre 100.

Frederic king of Prussia, partook too strongly of Voltaire's and d'Alembert's hatred of christianity, not to rejoice with them at the many reverses the institute had suffered. "What an unfortunate æra "for the court of Rome," said his majesty. "They "openly attack it in Poland. They are driving out "*its body guards* from France and Portugal. And, "it appears, they will do as much in Spain. The "philosophers are openly undermining the aposto- "lic throne, they ridicule the juggle of the magi- "cian, they bespatter the author of the sect, they "preach up toleration. All is lost: Nothing short "of a miracle can set the church on her legs again, "She has received a severe stroke of apoplexy. "And you (Voltaire) may have the satisfaction of "laying her in the grave, and writing her epitaph, "as you formerly did that of the Sorbonne."*

When Spain had in fact followed the examples of France and Portugal, this philosophic monarch could hardly contain the ecstasies which that event caused in him; he thus unbosomed himself to his good friends in France: "We have at least," he tells Voltaire, "gained an important advantage in "Spain: the Jesuits are driven out of that king- "dom. The courts of Versailles, Vienna and Ma- "drid have pressed the pope to suppress a consi- "derable number of convents. They say that the "holy father must consent, however reluctantly, to "the measure. Cruel revolution! What is not the "next generation to look up to? The axe is at the

* Lettre 6 Fevrier, 1767.

" root of the tree. The edifice is sapped in its " foundations, ready to fall in. The nations will " recount in their annals, that Voltaire was the pro- " moter of the revolution, which will take place in " the human mind before the close of the nineteenth " century."*

What impressions does not this infuriated language of philosophy force upon a reflecting mind? It proclaims through the wicked organ of an unbelieving monarch, the whole malignity of its desperate hopes. Intolerance has attained its acme, and the modern philosophers have glutted to excess in persecution of religion. That heavenly offspring has beholden, to the astonishment of affrighted nations, her altars profaned, her temples demolished, her ministers banished or butchered, her festivals abolished, her venerable chief twice exiled and imprisoned, and her enemies in savage triumph making France and Europe ring with the doleful pæans of their bloody trophies. Yet supported by the hand of the Almighty, she still stands erect upon the dust of her persecutors, crowned with new laurels, desponding as little for the future, as from the past. Where then is this flimsy edifice, which the philosophic monarch vainly boasted was undermined in its foundations, and about to shake the earth with the crash of its mighty fall? Where is now that wonderful Voltaire, whose destinies had summoned him to write the epitaph of religion expiring with ignominy at his feet? The brittle structure, of which the unbelievers had vauntingly predicted the

* Lettre du 5 Mai, 1767.

immediate downfall, is the religion of Jesus Christ, eternal as its divine founder, which rears its head in every nation of the earth, in defiance of the violent rage of persecution, which for these eighteen centuries has assailed it. Voltaire the invincible, who was to have assisted with an ignominious epitaph at her obsequies, is now no more, in the horrors of the sepulchre, than a cold senseless atom of dust, whilst his fastidious spirit ranges for eternity in the regions of bliss or woe, under the hand of a merciful or an angry God, as his evil deeds shall have been followed by sorrow or impenitence. The persecution and crosses which religion experiences, are ever sure to turn to her glory, in as much as her constant triumph exposes the weakness of her enemies on one hand, and on the other demonstrates the omnipotency of the divine hand which protects her. But as to the victories of impiety, they ever must cover her with ignominious shame, branded by the curse of nations, and disgraced by inevitable defeats, they leave her but the humiliating despair of ever subduing christianity.

However solid and consoling these reflections may be, I must no longer entertain them here, but hasten to the principal object of this work.

Notwithstanding Frederic's aversion to christianity, he could not bring his mind to drive the Jesuits out of his states. Distinguishing the king from the philosopher, he was sensible that he should contravene every principle of sound policy and good government, if, after the example of the catholic cabinets of Europe, he should proscribe and banish the fathers of the society. I shall hereafter mention this

singular resolve of an unbelieving prince. However justifiable his motives were, certain it is, that his most intimate friends took it very ill of him. D'Alembert, above all others, spared no pains to bring him over to sentiments more congenial with those of the school of disbelief. "My venerable patriarch," wrote he to Voltaire, "accuse me no more of being slack in "the good cause, *no man perhaps exists, who ren-* "*ders it more essential services than I do.* Do "you know what I am now about? I am labouring "to procure the expulsion of those *Jesuitical mis-* "*creants* from Silesia, whom your old disciple wishes "to get rid of, on account of the perfidy and trea- "son, which he has owned to me, he experienced "from them during the last war. I never write a "letter to Berlin, in which I do not paint in very "strong colouring, the astonishment of the philoso- "phers of France, that the king of philosophers, "the avowed protector of philosophy, is so back- "ward in imitating the examples of France and "Portugal. These letters are read to his majesty, "who you know is peculiarly ambitious of the good "opinion of the right believers."*

Voltaire acted perfectly in unison with d'Alembert, when fifteen years after their expulsion from France, he employed all his credit at the court of St. Petersburg to procure their expulsion also from China: because, said he, *those Jesuits, whom the emperor of China has had the goodness to preserve at Pekin, are much more proselytizers than mathematicians.*†

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* Lettre de d'Alembert a Voltaire du 29 Décembre, 1763.
† Lettre a d'Alembert du 8 Décembre, 1776.

On reading this ultraphilosophic correspondence, it is evident, that the very shadow of a Jesuit terrified these bravading unbelievers. They pursued the society therefore with unrelenting perseverance to its very last member, dreading lest some day or other, the order might revive out of its ashes, to the discomfiture of the new school of philosophy. This dread shewed itself in two particular instances.

The failures of the institute having inflicted a severe wound upon the education of youth, the government had it in contemplation to attempt to heal it, by establishing a new society of clergymen, and particularly of ex-Jesuits, who should devote themselves to teaching in public colleges. D'Alembert instantly took alarm. He wrote repeatedly to Voltaire to apprize him of the different projects he had devised, to defeat this new plan of reform. He chiefly insists upon *the danger which would result from it to the state, to the church, to the pope, to the king, and to the duke d'Arguillon,* under whose administration the destruction of the Jesuits had been accomplished. That sufficed not: he found it essential to demonstrate *the mischief of putting the rising generation under the tuition of any of the priesthood, all of whom he represented as ultramontanists, unnatural and bad citizens.* Voltaire is equally terrified at the intended measure; he considers it an affair of the first consequence, and concerts with his friend, the most efficient steps to preserve philosophy from the impending danger.* The whole party

* See particularly the letters of the 26th February, 5th March, and 22d March, 1774.

is thrown into consternation and action, to counteract the plan at Paris and Versailles. Soon after the terrific phantom disappeared. The leaders of the party contrived to gain over the ministry, the measure was dropped, and all the philosophic fears were dispersed.

This calm was however of short duration. A report prevailed, that the society would be re-established in Portugal. A fresh panic seized d'Alembert; he dreaded the success of the enemy in this new conflict, and thus expressed himself in a letter to Voltaire. "I am credibly assured, that those Je-"suitical miscreants are about to be re-established "in Portugal, in every thing, save their habit. "This new queen appears to be a precious piece of "superstitious majesty. Should the king of Spain "drop, that kingdom, I doubt not, will follow the "example of Portugal. *The game is up with rea-"son, if the enemy gain this great battle.*"*

What formidable men these Jesuits are! Sunk down into the abyss of ignominy, and buried in the shades of death, they still strike a panic into the victorious ranks of the modern philosophists. An army of two hundred thousand men, would not have spread greater consternation through their host. Does it not very forcibly strike the reader of these interesting extracts from the correspondence of the heads of the philosophic party, that in defiance of their boasted powers in captivating the hearts even of sovereigns, by preaching up a morality that flatters passion, and deifies crime, these religious men

* Lettre du 23 Juin, 1777.

still possess the secret of rising from their ashes, more hale and vigorous than they were full fifty years before their death.

One more instance shall suffice to characterize the irreligious hatred, which the unbelievers entertained of the institute of St. Ignatius. The dauphin, who was the father of Louis XVI, held out to France the promising prospect of a magnificent reign of glory and prosperity. A happy genius, an upright and magnanimous soul, great variety and depth of knowledge, a love of religion, the people and the fine arts, all the brilliant powers of the mind, all the royal virtues of the heart, which make a prince the idol of his people, the hero of the age, and the admiration of the world, graced with profusion this heir apparent to the throne of France. A lingering illness, threatening approaching dissolution, threw a desponding gloom over the better part of the nation, and drew from them tears, by anticipation, for the calamitous effects which it was about to suffer, from the approaching loss of this promising inheritor of our kings, the true friends of our monarchy and religion. In the midst of this general mourning, the whole school of disbelief had the effrontery to indulge openly, the most indecent excesses of exultation. They dreaded the dauphin's attachment to the faith of his forefathers. Above all things, they feared that his determined opposition in council to the advice of the ministers, for crushing the society of Jesus in France, would be followed up by his more successful efforts for their re-establishment throughout the kingdom. Lord Walpole, who was then in

Paris, thus wrote to field-marshal Conway. "The "dauphin has evidently but few days to live. The "prospect of his death, maddens the philosophers "with joy, as they dread his exertions for the re-esta- "blishment of the Jesuits."

It must however in justice be admitted, that some of the school of disbelief did not carry their hatred of the society to this degree of depravity. It is generally believed, that Diderot refused the offer of a considerable sum of money, to write against these respectable objects of persecution. And J. J. Rousseau glories, in his letter to the archbishop Beaumont,* that he could never be induced to lend his pen to decry and ruin the society. "They have," says that philosopher, "wreaked their vengeance "against me for my refusal to side with the Jansen- "ists, and my constant perseverance in the deter- "mination never to employ my pen against the Je- "suits, *whom I do not like,* but of whom I have no "personal ground of complaint, and *whom I see* "*oppressed.*" There is another testimony in favour of the disciples of St. Ignatius, still more singular than the former, as coming from the mouth of a professed atheist, the astronomer Lalande. Though the passage be rather long, it is too full of point to suppress any part of it from the reader.

In the *Bulletin de l'Europe* of the *20th Nivose,* this author says, "I am twitted with being an athe- "ist, with being uglier than Socrates, with eating "spiders, with calling the duchess of Gotha my "intimate friend, with saying that Newton was a

* Page 8.

" tolerable mathematician, with having foretold a " comet that never appeared, with having made my " court to the pope, and with having served the " mass of a Jesuit. Nothing of all this deserves an " answer. But the mention of a Jesuit awakens all " the feelings of my heart, my mind, and my grati- " tude. They have spoken much of their re-esta- " blishment in the north; that is all smoke: it has, " however, harrowed up all my sore feelings at the " blindness of the ministers in place in 1762. No; " mankind has irretrievably lost, and never will re- " cover, that precious and surprising union of twenty " thousand individuals, devoted incessantly and dis- " interestedly to the functions of teaching, preach- " ing, missions, conciliations, and succour to the dy- " ing, that is to say, to duties the most serviceable " and the dearest to humanity."

" Retirement, frugality, and the renunciation " of pleasure, constituted, in that society, the most " harmonious concord of science and virtue. I had " personal knowledge of them: *they were an as-* " *semblage of heroes for religion and humanity.* " Religion afforded them means, which philosophy " cannot furnish. I was enraptured with them.— " When I was but fourteen years of age, I loved " them to such a degree, as to solicit to be admitted " amongst them; and I regret, to this hour, that I " did not persevere in this vocation, which origi- " nated from my state of innocence and thirst after " knowledge. Amongst the absurd calumnies which " the rage of Protestants and Jansenists have sent " forth against them, I particularly remarked those

" of la Chalotais, who was so ignorant, or so blind,
" as to have asserted in his pleadings, that they had
" produced no mathematicians. I was then work-
" ing at my astronomical tables ; I devoted a special
" article to the astronomers, who were Jesuits, and
" their number astonished me. I had an opportu-
" nity of meeting with la Chalotais at Saintes, on
" the 20th of October, 1773. I upbraided him with
" his injustice, which he did not pretend to deny.
" He was murdered on the 20th of July, 1774.—
" Crimes are generally punished.

" Rarò antecedentem scelestum
" Deseruit pede pœna claudo.

" But the Jesuits' doom had been long since
" fixed. Two ministers, Carvalho and Choiseul,
" have irreparably broken the most beautiful work
" of man, which no sublunary institution will ever
" again rival: the everlasting object of my admira-
" tion, of my gratitude, and of my regret."*

The Jesuits have been reproached for entertaining too great an attachment and too high an esteem for their own body. Let this taunt be well or ill-founded, it will ever be curious to remark, that the most splendid eulogy of their order has come from the lips of an avowed atheist. I am not, indeed, aware that any Jesuit ever stepped so far beyond the bounds of modesty, as to have called his own

* This evidence of Lalande in favour of the Jesuits is to be seen in the *Annales Philosophiques, Morales et Littéraires*, of M. de Boulogne, the present bishop of Troyes. Tom. I, an. 1800, p. 228.

society an *assemblage of heroes for religion and humanity.* It is here to be remarked, that the evidence which we have drawn from these leaders of the school of disbelief, has only been forced from them, upon the score of their intimate conviction of the innocence of the Jesuits; for no personal interest or credit with the sect to which they lent their name could have induced them to give it. But if these witnesses did not give into the conspiracy against the society, it is not the less certain, that it sunk under the redoubled efforts of the philosophers, acting in concert with the Jansenists through every scene of this fatal tragedy. The facts we have to relate in the ensuing part of this chapter will add a mass of evidence to the truth of the assertion.

Carvalho, better known under the title of marquis de Pombal, gave in Portugal the first signal for the destruction of the society. He was a sworn enemy to the holy see, and to all bishops, and the avowed abettor of several new doctrines subversive of the rights of the church; and had resolved upon the ruin of the society, on account of the opposition he encountered from them to the progress of his innovations. The murder of the king of Portugal was the pretext he set up for devoting them to proscription and banishment. By an edict, dated on the 3d day of September, 1759, the Jesuits were banished the kingdom, declared traitors and rebels, and all their property was confiscated.

France soon trod in the steps of Portugal. The duke de Choiseul, the patron general of the philosophers, and the marchioness of Pompadour, who had captivated the heart of the monarch, joined

their interests to forward the persecution of the institute. To use the words of Voltaire, *they were initiated in all the secrets of philosophy.* The influence which they both commanded over Louis XV, ensured the most brilliant success to all the designs of the Jansenists, as well as of the unbelievers. Notwithstanding the powerful reclamations of the clergy, the institute of St. Ignatius was abolished throughout France. And as if the preservation of these zealous workmen in the vineyard, who had devoted such a mass of learning and talent to the glory of the kingdom, had been incompatible with its laws and its monarchy, and destructive of its prosperity, the Jesuits, to the amount of four thousand, were compelled to quit their native soil, to seek a precarious existence in foreign countries.

In Spain, the prime minister, count d'Aranda, became, as d'Alembert expresses himself, *the executive administrator of supreme justice under philosophy.* He had confederated himself with the philosophers, and, like them, he had sworn to destroy the Jesuits. Having gained an uncontrolled influence over the king's mind, he procured him to sign an edict, by which the whole order was commanded to quit Spain, their whole property was seized and forfeited, and they were prohibited from ever returning into the kingdom. The edict was put into the most rigorous execution, without deference to age, infirmity, or services. They were arrested in one and the same night, conducted to the frontiers, and thence embarked for Italy. In the directions for executing this terrible sentence, his

majesty was made to declare, that he reserved to his royal breast the motives for this rigorous treatment.

In the kingdom of Naples, Tanucci, who, before he was placed at the head of the council of regency, had been a professor of civil law in the university of Pisa, contributed most powerfully to the expulsion of the Jesuits. He countenanced and encouraged the Jansenian party, who made numbers of proselytes throughout the kingdom, under the sanction of his authority. He was an avowed enemy of the see of Rome, which had condemned one of his works, in which he had violently arraigned some of the ecclesiastical immunities; and he therefore devoted all his powers and credit to the destruction of the society.

In Austria, Van Swieten and Haen, two disciples of the celebrated Boerhaave, professor of medicine at Leyden, procured the Jesuits to be sent from all the universities, in which they had chairs either of divinity or canon law. They were both of families attached to the Jansenian bishop of Utrecht, and had been brought up in all the prejudices of that party, as well against the society as against the holy see. Having been appointed physicians in ordinary to the empress Maria Theresa, and enjoying a very large share of her confidence, they prevailed upon her to institute a commission to reform the system of education throughout her empire. The commissioners acted up to the full spirit of Van Swieten and Haen. The expulsion of the Jesuits from the universities was the first measure they took

in hand.* Maria Theresa, nevertheless, was partial to the society: she opposed, for a length of time, the intrigues of the cabinets of Madrid and Lisbon at Rome for its suppression. But the queen of Naples, instigated by the Spanish ambassador, having urged her to it in the most pressing manner, the empress dropped her opposition to the Jesuits' enemies. Thus, in the course of some few years, was the fire lighted in every quarter, and the world beheld that celebrated society, consisting of above twenty thousand subjects, ranged under the banners of St. Ignatius, suddenly fall under the sword of pontifical authority. Clement XIV, staggered by the pressing importunities of the Spanish and Portuguese ministers, and intimidated by the threats which accompanied them, struck the fatal blow by his brief for the suppression, dated on the 21st of July, 1773.

CHAPTER VI.

A general Description of the Charges laid against the Society of Jesuits.

NEVER since the creation of the world, say the enemies of the Jesuits, has there existed a society of human beings so destructive of morality, and so

* These particulars are given from the abbé Bellegarde, a witness above all suspicion, as he was for a length of time head of the Jansenian party at Utrecht, and was one of the principal writers in the *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques*.

dangerous to governments, as the order of Jesuits. Fired with unbridled ambition, their aim was universal monarchy. True it is, they command not armies to besiege towns, and to subdue kingdoms by force of arms. To supply that defect, they are thorough masters of intrigue, hypocrisy, and fraud; by means of which they command an ascendency over every thing that is great, and thus ensure to themselves an access to the palaces of kings. They have two systems of morality at command, of which they avail themselves with astonishing dexterity, in order to attain this universal dominion. Should any of their devotees exhibit a disposition to a rigorous system of morality, they have their authors of severe discipline, whom they push forward, inculcating the principles of the most ascetic austerity. But if placed in a situation to gain over to their purposes men in high life, they then give into the full system of their lax morality, and preach up, without stint or scruple, theft, homicide, adultery, blasphemy, witchcraft, superstition, divination, and idolatry.—They authorise all manner of crimes, and encourage the unbridled indulgence of every passion.

But king-killing is their favourite and most prominent doctrine; and, as the abbé Pucelle has said, *it is the original sin of the society.* They know right well how to play the impostor to support their institute, how to make sovereigns turn pale under the diadem, and, when necessary, how to dispatch them on their very thrones. The history of nations, sullied in every page by the narratives of their conspiracies and murders, fully warrants the grounds of this heavy charge. Open the history of France,

and there will you find them deeply implicated in the league raised against Henry III, then armed with the poignard to assassinate Henry IV, and Louis XV. Look into the annals of Portugal, and you will see them proscribed *en masse,* and exterminated from their country for having, in the administration of Pombal, attempted the life of Joseph I. Take a view of the history of England, and you will there see them ignominiously driven out of that celebrated island, for having been at the bottom of the noted gunpowder-plot, and having incessantly laboured to dethrone Elizabeth and James I. Cast your eye over the historical documents of Poland, Russia, and other states, and you will perceive them constantly employed in revolutionary projects, seeking to spread discord through different kingdoms, and overwhelming the whole world with confusion, in order to clear their way to their sole favourite object, universal monarchy.

Imagine not, they add, that their contempt of the crowns of sovereigns inspired them with respect and deference for mitres. Reeking with the blood of murdered monarchs, whom they killed off, they are also imbrued with that of Clement XIV, whom they poisoned. Surcharged with the privileges imparted to their order, and inflated with conceit of their own merit, they contemptuously tread under their feet other monastic institutions, and set at nought the divine rights of episcopacy. Imagine not, therefore, that they traversed oceans, in order to extend the empire of christianity to the people of Asia, or the barbarous hordes of American savages. Under the mask of zeal, and the imposing

mantle of hypocrisy, they sought only to enrich themselves by infamous traffic: they were lured out of their own country by the thirst of conquest and the lust for universal empire. Witness the scandalous bankruptcy of father Lavallette, known all over Europe; witness also the terrible insurrections raised by them in America against the kings of Spain and Portugal.

Such consummate profligacy in a religious order, fills the reflecting mind with astonishment: it baffles every attempt to explain how so depraved a society could have remained on their legs for more than two whole centuries, and how it could have enjoyed the confidence of the greatest princes, and the esteem of the most revered pontiffs. Bear also in mind, that beyond the mysterious secrets of their system of morality, which suited every disposition, and fanned the flame of every passion, they had their colleges, their missions, their brotherhoods and affiliations, which constituted a resistless power to attract and attach all classes of people to their institute. This was a never-failing source and supply of auxiliary troops, which they could bring into the field on any pressing occasion. One single historical trait, which, out of volumes of the like nature, accidentally starts uppermost in my thoughts, will throw the strongest day-light upon this dark mystery of iniquity. It is the instance of Louis XIV enlisting himself under the banners of St. Ignatius.—Is it not a certain and admitted fact, that this illustrious monarch, so jealous of his royal prerogatives, and of so high-minded and warlike a disposition, was seduced by father Le Tellier, his confessor, to

take the three religious vows, under that father's direction, namely, the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. And he even, according to the abbé Dorsanne,* also made the fourth vow of special obedience to the pope, to go, if sent, upon any foreign mission. Such a happy oblivion could he assume of all his past quarrels with the court of Rome, which is an inexplicable folly in so great a prince: So expert and truly astonishing are the Jesuits in every art of intrigue.

This horrible gang of crafty courtiers, of robbers, of bankrupts, of idolaters, and of regicides, must naturally have been headed by a man, imbrued in every vice and crime that could draw upon him the execration of the human species. Such then must have been the general of the Jesuits. Here is his true likeness, drawn from the life, by the author of the apology of these religious, in bringing together the scattered features, under which history and the friends of truth have represented him.

" A sort of monster incessantly cringing at the feet " of sovereigns and pontiffs, watching an opportu- " nity of surprising them, when off their guard, and " usurping their places; coupling the language of " enthusiasm with the movements of the fanatic, the " heart of the assassin with the spirit of the despot, " and masking the conduct of the abandoned profli-

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* " The king's confidence," says this abbé, " in father le " Tellier, did but encrease during his illness. This ought not to " create surprise, as that father had made his majesty take the " fourth vow of that society, and had placed on his breast the " passport from St. Ignatius." See the *Journal de l'abbé Dorsanne*, 2d Edit. Tom. I. p. 453. See also page 455.

"gate under all the wiles of the impostor: com-
"manding a caitiff group of base adorers prostrate
"at his feet, whom he fetters in chains, whose eyes
"he hoodwinks, whose brains he turns, whom he
"quenches with gall, whom he arms with poignards,
"whom he leads to slaughter, whom he trains to
"every vice, by exhorting them to every virtue:
"having at command on the seven hills, where he
"has fixed his den, forty thousand eyes open upon the
"interior of every cabinet of state, as well as of
"every private family in the state; forty thousand
"arms extended over the necks of every sovereign
"and of all their subjects: spreading every where
"on the altar, on the throne, in public places, in pri-
"vate families, the fumes of superstition, the breath
"of discord, and the blast of death: quaffing out
"of a cup, prepared for the sacrilege, and presented
"by ruffians, the blood and gold mingled together
"both of the old and new world: rearing his lofty
"head up to heaven, ransacking the earth with his
"hands, and trampling with his feet the bottomless
"pit of hell."

What a frightful portrait! What an infamous society! Who will henceforth wonder that Catholic princes should have pressed, with all the weight of their royal powers, upon this assemblage of nefarious miscreants? Of all the damnatory judgments emanating against these criminals, from the highest courts of justice, will there be one to which posterity will affix the stamp of equity, upon such just grounds as that of the parliament of Paris, of the 6th of August, 1762, which declares the institute inadmissible into any regular government.

I may in the eyes of some appear unjust and ridiculous, by putting such language into the mouths of the Jesuits' enemies. Those who have read their works against the institute, must bear witness that I have not exaggerated a single point: they must add, that I have passed over in silence a very considerable part of the charges laid to their account, although I have faithfully taken notice of the weightiest of those charges.*

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* These charges are principally rehearsed in two works recently published, one of which is intituled, *Du Pape et des Jésuites;* and the other, *Les Jésuites tels qu'ils ont été dans l'ordre politique, moral et religieux.* (i. e. The Jesuits such as they have been in the points of policy, morality and religion). A monumental record of some curiosity will help me to another justifying plea. It was an epitaph composed by the Jansenists, at the time that the Jesuits were expelled from France. I have now before me a copy of this interesting piece: it was certainly committed to the press, that it might travel down to posterity; and they will unquestionably have it engraven on the tomb-stone of the society.

THE EPITAPH OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUITS.

HEALTH, GLORY, POWER TO OUR GOD,.

Fallen is this mighty Babylon!
Fallen is this intolerable society of the Jesuits;
The scourge and disgrace of mankind;
Decorating itself with the name of Jesus, blaspheming against Jesus Christ;
The school of every vice;
Countenancing and committing all manner of crimes.
Greedy in traffic, bloated with riches, the fruit of its rapacity;
Haughty ruler of monarchs;
Grasping at the empire of the whole word.
Arming assassins against the anointed of the Lord;
Violating all laws in virtue of their very institute;
Rending the church asunder by schisms,
And states by sedition.
Altering the entire text of holy scriptures;
It has perished drunk with the blood of the saints.

CHAPTER VII.

*Reflections upon the Character of the Enemies of the Jesuits.**

WHEN the Templars were charged with trampelling under foot the crucifix, and with giving into every excess of debauchery, regular proceedings were carried on against them. These celebrated knights were questioned, brought face to face with their accusers, and they were found guilty or acquitted, as the evidence brought against them was supported or failed. Such of them as confessed or pleaded guilty to the charges laid against them, and those who were found guilty, upon their trial, on the evidence given in court, were sentenced to the most rigorous punishment; but as to such of them as persisted in declaring their innocence, even under the

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Heaven rejoice over it,
And you holy pontiffs, doctors, virgins, and the just,
Whom it has assailed, oppressed and murdered,
Insulting your holy memory, profaning your sacred remains;
Rejoice, ye kings and bishops,
Whom it long has deluded under the guise of false piety:
Fallen has this society,
Execrable in the eyes of God and man,
Driven out of Portugal by an edict of his most faithful majesty,
And proscribed in France by an act of parliament,
Of the VIth August, MDCCLXII.
Ubique exterminium societatis Jesu vota et salus orbis.

* I rank not amongst the Jesuits' enemies, certain persons who entertain prepossessions or prejudices against their order, although they allow them their due merit. I only characterize those as their enemies, who profess to carry on open war against them.

torture, and were, upon a fair trial, found not guilty, they were remitted to the society of their fellow citizens, and, like them, were allowed to breathe in freedom the air of their native country.

Why should the Jesuits be more harshly treated than the Templars? Why were they proscribed *en masse,* ignominiously driven out of their houses, bereft of their property, stowed on board of ships, without any attention to their age, infirmities, or services, and sent into banishment in foreign countries, without having been examined, questioned, or confronted with their accusers. I will allow, for the moment, that the bulk of the society were guilty. Ought therefore the innocent to be confounded with the guilty and comprised under one general sentence of proscription? Who dispensed with the administrators of justice from proceeding against these religious men, with the same legal forms as they are compellable to act against a professed assassin, or a highway robber? There is no persuading a man of sane intellect, that out of twenty thousand human beings, of which the society consisted, there existed not one solitary individual, who was honest and virtuous: and that from the instructor of youth in knowledge, morality, and religion, to the intrepid missionary, who with the sweat of his brow has watered the barbarous tracts of America, every Jesuit, unexceptionably, was deserving of poverty, banishment, and ignominy.

Bitterly however have the philosophers exclaimed against the treatment of the Templars, and enthusiastically have they applauded the atrocious measures pursued against the Jesuits. Not only have they

applauded, but also co-operated with the Jansenian party, in bringing all the misfortunes upon the society. These gentlemen, who had shed such scalding tears over the ruins of Port-Royal, the chief seat of the learning of their school, now made France and all Europe ring with pæans of exultation for the fall of this learned order. It is evident then to every one, who will read history without partiality, that the tragical scene which brought the existence of the society to a close, was the direct effect of jealousy, hatred, and revenge. Even some of the philosophers themselves have expressed in their works, their indignation at the shameful treatment of the Jesuits. Their enemies then, it must be admitted, throughout the whole course of their proceedings against the institute, acted merely from passion, breathing nothing but destruction and revenge.

The passion of hatred, like all other passions, reasons not upon a cool disquisition of the charges and facts. It works itself into rage, and strikes with fury. It seeks not that truth which enlightens the mind of the judge, in apportioning punishment to justice; but seizes, with dark malignity, upon every occasion of gratifying its anger, however unjust the means. A moderate man then, whatever his religious creed may be, who wishes to unravel truth from falsehood in the affair of the Jesuits, must be on his guard, and very cautious how he credits the charges laid to the account of the order; nor ought he in candour to pass a definitive sentence upon their guilt or innocence, until he shall have duly weighed the written evidence both for and against the institute. I will go further; and I hesitate not to

say, that, without any examination whatever, one half at least of the charges against the society, may be placed to the account of downright calumny. For whenever passion wishes to disgrace and destroy, it charges without proof, and traduces without shame. Such is the invariable operation of hatred and revenge, more especially when the object of them is a powerful body, commanding the esteem and confidence of the public.

A man of true religion will draw from the character of the Jesuits' enemies a chain of consequences, which will throw a volume of day-light upon the innocence of the society. Thus will he reason:

To a man who has his country's interest at heart, and who is consequently distressed to witness the success of seditious efforts against it, the most honourable testimony of patriotism, is the hatred which the seditious bear him. Had he unfortunately enrolled himself with the faction, so far from being hated and condemned by them, he would have been the object of their esteem and remuneration. Nay, though unshaken in his own allegiance, yet if he but made a slight resistance to the malecontents, he would have been passed over unheeded or unknown, without exciting the hatred of the party, or being immolated as the victim of their vengeance. His claims upon the esteem and gratitude of his loyal countrymen, are in the exact proportion of the hatred and detraction he experiences from the opposite party. This hatred, which follows him even after death, will, in the eyes of posterity, constitute the fairest apology for his innocence, and the most

magnificent monument of the brilliant services he has performed to his king and country. This just reasoning applies to the society.

This religious body has ever reckoned for irreconciliable enemies, all heretics and unbelievers; that is, the declared enemies of religion and the church. Traduced, debased, and charged with enormous crimes by these party-men, they have fallen victims to their vengeance. In the judgment then of the friends to religion, the society of Jesuits ought to be considered a corps eminently serviceable to the cause of christianity. The hatred which has incessantly pursued them up to this time, will in future ages become the highest eulogy of their institute, and the most triumphant evidence of their innocence.

O you, then, who are sincerely attached to the religion of your forefathers, double your esteem and affection for this illustrious society, in proportion as it has incurred the hatred of all the innovators of the last three centuries. Indulge not the idea, that a vast body of twenty thousand religious men, would have been constantly and openly combating every error, had they themselves been that horrible kennel of profligacy and vice. Truth and guilt never formed a lasting alliance in the human breast. Had the Jesuits been weak enough to side with error, had they enlisted under the banners of philosophy, then would every triumph of fame have resounded with the praises of the children of Ignatius; then would the loudest declaimers against, have become the very warmest encomiasts of, the institute. But would they not have tarnished the glory of their

body, by so base a treason? Had they been feeble, obscure, timid and hardly known, and barely thrown up an insignificant dyke, to stay the torrent of error and impiety, that has been ravaging the catholic realms of Europe, they would not have been the object of that peculiar and inveterate horror, which burst forth into a fresh flame, at the very first report of the restoration of the society, after having lain in obscurity, contempt, and calumny, for upwards of fifty years. They would have been merged in the general proscription of religious orders, which was meant to break up the sanctuary of knowledge, and do away the asylum of innocence and virtue, and they might have been devoted to ridicule or oblivion, but never to this implacable vengeance. Their heroic zeal in the defence of religion was their crime, and the importance of their services the cause of their ruin.

CHAPTER VIII.

Important and Authentic Evidence concerning the Jesuits.

AFTER having exposed the character of the Jesuits' declared enemies, I shall now quote some pieces of evidence, which go great lengths towards dissipating many of the prejudices, and throwing broad day-light upon the truth of their history. From necessity I limit myself to few quotations; for were I to bring together in this work, all the eulogies that have been passed upon the wisdom and utility

of the institute, I should exceed my intended limits, and perhaps weary the reader to no purpose. I have therefore found it necessary to make a selection out of the vast mass of testimonies, which occur in the historical monuments of that order. I shall therefore confine myself to the honourable testimonies of Henry IV, of Louis XIV, of the dauphin who was the father of Louis XVI, of Catherine II, empress of all the Russias, of Richelieu, of cardinal de Fleury, of Bossuet, of Bacon, of Leibnitz, of several parliaments who took up the defence of the Jesuits, about the time of their suppression, of Clement XIII, and of the French clergy, who vehemently protested against the suppression of the order.

At the very name of Henry IV, France bows with reverence and affection before this illustrious offspring of our monarchs, who knew so well how to ensure the happiness of his people, by tempering courage with goodness, magnanimity with firmness, and state policy with enlightened religion. On the occasion of the criminal charge laid against Châtel, the parliament of Paris had exiled all the Jesuits. Henry IV, convinced of the innocence of that religious body, and of the utility of their institute, recalled them back into his kingdom, and re-established them in part of their privileges. This act of royal power displeasing the parliament, their president Harlay preferred remonstrances to the king, in the name of that sovereign court. Henry answered him in these terms. "I know and understand all your intentions and actions thoroughly; but you do not know "and understand mine. You have started difficulties, "which appear to you great and considerable, but

"you little surmise, that whatever you have been "telling me, I have turned and weighed in my "thoughts for these eight or nine years. You set "up for mighty statesmen, and know no more of the "matter, than I do how to draw legal pleadings." After this check, the king defended the Jesuits with equal clearness and precision against the principal charges brought against them by their enemies: such as the ambition of the body, the opposition which the Sorbonne and the university had made to their establishment in France, the imperfect course of studies taught in the Jesuits' colleges, their conduct during the disastrous period of the league, their spirit of proselyting, their vow of obedience to the pope, the manner in which they had procured admission into the kingdom, the scandal which was taken by some clergymen on their score, whom he taxes with ignorance, and calls *ill-conducted men*, their ultramontane opinions, the doctrine of *regicide*, and the attempts of Barriere and de Châtel.* The remonstrances then of the parliament of Paris were ineffectual. Henry IV persisted in his resolution to encourage the institute, throughout the whole extent of his dominions. He took the society under the special shadow of his royal protection, and never ceased to lavish upon the fathers marked instances of his esteem and affection, till the fatal moment when the parricidal steel of Ravaillac robbed France of the idol of her affections and her happiness.

Louis XIV trod in the steps of his august grand-

* Vide Appendix, No. 1.

father. The foundation of the college, called by his name, which he placed under the direction of the Jesuits, is an unequivocal demonstration of his high confidence in, and esteem for, the society of Jesus. The letters patent enregistered in the parliament of Paris, by which that illustrious monarch of the golden age of France, declared himself to be the founder of that college, are a high encomium of the education which the fathers of the society gave to the youth committed to their charge, and of the purity of their doctrines upon the important duties to God and the king. His majesty says, he founded this establishment "with a view to second "the care they so usefully take to train youth in the "knowledge of useful literature, and teach them "their duty to their Creator, as well as that which "they owe to those who are ordained to govern "the people."

As to the dauphin, father of Louis XVI, he stood up firmly, as we before mentioned, against the ministers who voted in council for the extinction of the institute in France. And the dread, that if he ever should come to the throne, he would re-establish the society, worked so powerfully upon the minds of the unbelievers, that they most indecently exulted in the fatal malady which brought him to the grave.

But of all the testimonies in their favour, the most singular is that of a sovereign out of the bosom of the catholic church, namely of Catherine II, empress of all the Russias, and who moreover was connected with the French philosophers. In the year 1783, her imperial majesty sent to Rome, as the

accredited minister from the court of Russia, Benislawski, the archiepiscopal coadjutor of Mohilow, with a letter in her own hand writing to pope Pius VI. In applying to the head of the church for the re-establishment of the society, Benislawski put into the hands of his holiness the letter written by his imperial mistress, of which we shall quote an extract, that will, I doubt not, astonish my readers. "I am "sensible," says she, "that your holiness is much "embarrassed, but fear ill suits your character. "Your dignity can never crouch to policy, when po- "licy wounds religion. The motives which have "induced me to protect the Jesuits, are bottomed in "reason and justice, and, I will add, a well founded "expectation, that they will be serviceable to my "government. This body of peaceable and un- "offending men shall subsist throughout my em- "pire, because of all catholic associations, they are "the best qualified to instruct my subjects, and in- "fuse into them the sentiments of humanity and the "principles of the christian religion. I am deter- "mined to support the priests against every power "upon earth. In that I do but my duty; for I am "their sovereign, and I consider them as loyal, use- "ful and unoffending subjects. I moreover wish "to see four of them invested with the power of "giving confirmation, so that the catholic churches "of those two cities, may be confided to their su- "perintendence."

This very interesting letter is cited as an authentic document by Castera, in his history of Catharine II, and in the recent work of Mr. Dallas, a church of England man, intituled, *The new Conspiracy*

against the Jesuits detected and briefly exposed. If it were disowned in the Petersburgh gazette, that was merely done out of tenderness to the Greek schismatics. It was apprehended, that the benevolence of her imperial majesty towards her catholic subjects, and, above all, her partiality for a religious order specially devoted to the holy see, would not flatter their feelings. But whatever were the policy of disavowing the letter, the facts substantiated its authenticity. It embarrassed the pope. Ten years had barely elapsed, since the suppression of the order by his immediate predecessor, Clement XIV, and the cabinets of France and Spain, both of which his holiness wished to humour, were against the restoration of this famous order. Under the fear of displeasing one or both of these courts, Pius VI consulted their respective ambassadors, concerning the answer his holiness should make to the empress. Each of the ambassadors applied to his court for instructions how to act, but it was the determination of both not to intermeddle. Pius VI, with every due attention to the accustomed forms and usages, joyfully seconded the wishes of the empress, by a brief which set the society of Jesus on foot, throughout the whole extent of her vast dominions.

Having now pointed out some of the warmest apologists for the society from amongst the crowned heads, I will next call up the manes of some of their most trusty ministers, and of the most illustrious genii of their nations. Richelieu thought it not beneath his dignity to enter the lists with the ministers of Charenton, to defend the honour of this illustrious society. In the work, which we before

quoted,* he triumphantly cleared their reputation from the calumnies imputed to them by these leading reformers, and in his *political testament* he highly commends the utility of the institute.

Cardinal Fleury, the prime minister of Louis XV, had some reason to be dissatisfied with the Jesuits; his displeasure however did not prevent him from doing them justice. "It is to be regretted," wrote his eminence to cardinal Tencin, in the year 1740, "that the credit of the Jesuits is on the decline; "for it must be admitted, that theirs is almost the "only body of men that defends the church, nor "have we any other preachers left, but of their "order. They were certainly no friends of mine "in the late reign, and there is conclusive evi- "dence of their opposition. I know it, and bear "them no ill will."

The very name of Bossuet every where commands respect and admiration; and he too well knew human nature and human institutions, to withhold his eulogies from the disciples of St. Ignatius. The peroration of his third sermon on the circumcision, contains a sublime panegyric of their order. "And "you illustrious society," exclaims the eloquent orator, "who bear not in vain the sacred name of Je- "sus, whom the grace of the Lord has inspired with "the grand design of training up youth from the "tenderest age, to the maturity of the perfect man "in Christ Jesus; to whom God hath given in these "latter days, doctors, apostles, evangelists, to carry "the glad tidings of the gospel to the furthest and "long unknown boundaries of the earth; never

* See chap. III.

" cease to employ in those sublime functions accord-
" ing to your holy institute, that talent, genius,
" power, eloquence, refinement and learning, with
" which you are so eminently gifted; and in order
" that you may the more effectually accomplish the
" sublime work, receive with all this assembly, in
" token of eternal charity, the blessing of the Fa-
" ther, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

The celebrated English chancellor Bacon, surnamed the father of modern philosophy, rose above the prejudices of education and of the church of England, when he expressed an ardent desire to see the society established in his own country, whose schools for the education of youth, he preferred to all others then existing, and to them he classically applied the words of Agesilaus to his enemy Pharnabasus, *talis cum sis, utinam noster esses.**

Had this great man given credit to the grievous charges laid by his Protestant countrymen to the account of the society; had he believed, as the Jansenists and philosophers have effected to believe, that this celebrated society had been at all times a gang of ambitious, intriguing, seditious regicides, covering, under the veil of superstition and hypocrisy, the most depraved passions, and the most enormous crimes, would he have so frankly and solemnly expressed the desires of his heart, that the education of the rising generation should be committed to their charge? His testimony is the more favourable to the Jesuits, by how much less expected it was from the pen of a man of his reputation,

* Vide his work, De diguitate et augmente scient. L. I.

who was not a member of their church: Truth alone guided his pen and inspired his mind.

Leibnitz, who, throughout Germany, was looked up to as the most learned of his cotemporaries, admired the works of the Jesuits,* and was indignant at the calumnies, by which the Protestants attempted to blacken their character, and sully their reputation, in the eyes of the public. "Confident I am, "that they frequently traduce the society, and fas- "ten upon them opinions and doctrines, which they "never thought of. Such was Titus Oates, who

* Count Merode, a grandee of Spain of the first order, and a knight of the golden fleece, became acquainted with Leibnitz at Vienna, and held correspondence with him from that time to his death. Having mentioned to that learned man, in one of his letters, the circumstance of his having purchased the *Acta sanctorum* of the Jesuits of Antwerp, the philosopher answered him by a high eulogy of the work, which concludes in these words: "If those fathers had never produced any other work than that, "they would have been most worthy of being brought into ex- "istence, and would have just claims upon the good wishes and "esteem of the whole world." The Jesuits of Antwerp were in possession of the original of this interesting piece, in which count Merode attested the truth of the fact. The abbé de St. Leger, who was librarian of St. Geneviève at Paris, gave an authentic copy of it to M. Emery, the superior general of the congregation of St. Sulpitius, and this estimable author of *Leibnitz's Thoughts upon Religion and Morality*, gave publication to it by means of the press. (See Vol. ii. of this work, 2d edition page 426.) Should any one of the modern unbelievers, on throwing his eye over this work, stumble by chance on this quotation, he would probably smile with pity, at Leibnitz lavishing his praise on such a vast collection of the Lives of Saints. We have not been prevented by a desire to screen the German philosopher from the taunts of levity and ignorance, from noticing the honourable testimony he has left of the valuable labours of the Bollandists; because, in the opinion of every man of sound understanding, the philosophy which respects the Deity, and the heroes of his religion, is by far more wise and reasonable, than that proud philosophy, which insults the Creator, and effects to despise the sublime virtues of christianity.

"laid I know not what extravagancies to their ac-
"count; such, for instance, that their generals ab-
"solutely appointed to all the civil and military em-
"ployment throughout England. I say nothing of
"the gross absurdities contained in the book, inti-
"tuled, *The Emperor and the Empire betrayed.* It
"is moreover very certain, that amongst the mem-
"bers of their society, there are some of the most
"valuable and respectable men in being. True
"also is it, that there are amongst them men of ar-
"dent minds, who, cost what it will, sometimes at-
"tempt measures not altogether justifiable, for the
"aggrandizement of their order. But this is an
"evil common to all such societies; and if it be
"more especially noticed amongst the Jesuits than
"others, it is because that society draws upon it
"the eyes of the public more than any other."*

Here then is a Lutheran, of extraordinary learning and powers, who undertakes the defence of the society of Jesuits. He is convinced, that the very exaggeration of the calumnies against them, renders them insignificant and ridiculous. He thinks there are amongst them *some* of ardent minds, who labour at the aggrandizement of their order, not by crimes, as the Jansenists and unbelievers contend, but by means *not very becoming;* and he also thinks there are many amongst them, who are the most upright and valuable men in existence. He observes, moreover, with much impartiality, that the failings, which he censures in them, are common to others, but are more particularly noticed in the society, be-

* Vol. v. page 400. Epist. 11. ad Tentzelium.

cause the Jesuits themselves are more narrowly watched than others. The result is, that though this extraordinary man find some individuals, enlisted under the banners of St. Ignatius, to blame, yet he justifies the society at large.

To the estimation in which the society was holden by kings, ministers, and some of the most learned and illustrious characters of the age, we must add that of the most considerable corporate cities of the kingdom, which have, on various occasions, given with full freedom, and without fear or reserve, the most ample testimonies of the utility and advantage of the society both to church and state.

The authenticity of these documents is so incontestible, that even the Jansenistical editor of the *Nouvelles Ecclesiastiques* has not ventured to call them in question. He confines himself to the pitiful task of lamenting the blindness of the magistrates, who were seduced, by the arts and intrigues of the Jesuits, to affix their names unto them. To these we must adjoin the eloquent remonstrances of the parliaments of Douay and Besançon, which loudly proclaim the Jesuits as the religious order most eminently serviceable to the church, and most dutiful and loyal to the king; the remonstrance also of the sovereign council of Alsace, who, through their organ, M. Bours, publicly avowed *their attachment to a society, as much celebrated for its sufferings and persecutions, as by the important services it has at all times rendered to the public and to the cause of religion;* the remonstrances of the provincial council of Artois, whose acts were annulled by the parliament of Paris; the remonstran-

ces likewise of the spirited minorities in almost every parliament throughout France, who, with the utmost ardour, opposed the destruction of the society, which was generally carried by weak majorities of two or three votes. Let us not omit that powerful remonstrance of pope Clement XIII, who perceiving the storm against the society ready to burst, did, by a solemn constitution, called *Apostolicum,* confirm afresh the institute of St. Ignatius, which had been solemnly applauded and formally confirmed by nineteen of his predecessors, as well as by the unerring authority of the sacred œcumenical council of Trent, which had declared it to be *pious and holy.* This same pope addressed separate briefs to Louis XV, and to Charles III, of Spain, urging them in the most affectionate, and at the same time most energetic manner, not to lend the aid of their royal authority to the enemies of God and the church, to ruin the society of Jesus. During the whole course of his trying and laborious pontificate, that venerable chief pastor never ceased to protect and defend the society, with a firmness which solicitation, promise and menace never could shake. To these again must we add the remonstrances of a considerable portion of the French prelates, who far from considering those fathers, the avowed enemies of their episcopal rights, and the fawning flatterers of the court of Rome, saw nothing in them but supports of religion, the scourge of heretics, the revered guardians of morality, and the solid buttresses of episcopacy, assailed on every side by the host of infidelity. In one word, the powerful remonstrances and addresses of the assemblies of the

clergy in the years 1761 and 1762, laying at the foot of the throne their testimony of the attachment and deference which they bore to the society, pouring forth the most ardent wishes for its preservation, unable to view without horror and dismay the evils which would befall religion in the most christian kingdom, should the society be compelled to yield to the destructive efforts of their enemies.

These monuments of the zeal of the French clergy, and of their lively attachment to the children of St. Ignatius, are too remarkable not to find their place in this publication. They shall close the chain of the weighty and irrefragable evidence concerning this religious order, which we had to detail in this chapter. In them will be found a complete apology of the society, together with fresh proofs of the vindictive spirit of malice, which incessantly exacerbated the enemies of religion and the church against the order.

In the years 1614 and 1615, had the ecclesiastical chamber of the states general represented to the king, that the Jesuits' colleges should be multiplied; that their institute *had been and would ever continue to be mainly serviceable in preserving divine faith and the catholic religion, in restoring piety and morality, and in extirpating heresies.*

In the year 1617, had the assembly of the clergy proposed the Jesuits' schools, *as the fit means of bringing back faith and religion into the hearts of the people.* These eulogies bestowed upon the fathers of the society, were to be followed up by very stormy circumstances, in order that by a profound discusssion of the principal charges raised against

the society, their innocence might be the more triumphantly vindicated.

Louis XV, wishing to be apprised of the sentiments of the bishops of his kingdom concerning the Jesuits, on the various heads of accusation against them, in 1761, gave it in command to count St. Florentin to write in his majesty's name to cardinal de Luynes, that it was the royal wish, that all the bishops who were then at Paris, or about the court, should meet to confer together concerning several points touching the society of Jesus, and report their advice upon them.

1. As to what service the Jesuits can be in France, and to state the advantages and disadvantages that may result from their exercise of the functions committed to their charge.

2. The manner in which the Jesuits conduct themselves, in teaching and treating the opinions that are contrary to the personal safety of sovereigns, and the doctrine of the clergy of France contained in the declaration of 1682, and the ultramontane doctrines in general.

3. The conduct of the Jesuits in the subordination which is due to bishops and ecclesiastical superiors, and if they encroach upon the rights and functions of spiritual pastors.

4. What feelings would be excited in France by the extent of the power of the general of the Jesuits, as he exercises it there in fact.

The bishops, in obedience to the king's commands, convened to the number of fifty at cardinal de Luynes', and there they named a committee to examine the several questions, and report upon

them to the assembly. It was not possible to frame a more favourable report than what the committee made to the assembly, who, at a meeting in December, 1761, came to a resolution to write a letter to the king, to apprise his majesty of the unanimous opinion they had formed, upon the subject which his majesty had been pleased to submit to their consideration.

This letter was signed by forty-four prelates, archbishops, and bishops. To avoid prolixity, I shall only quote some passages more pointedly relevant to the questions proposed to the assembly.

1. After having spoken most honourably of the society, and having ascribed the opposition which they met with in France, on its first establishment in that kingdom, to the novelty and singularity of their institute, to the extent and variety of the privileges granted to it by the holy see, and the generality of its object, which concurred with that of so many other societies then on foot; after having also observed, that the fathers of the society had, by their conduct, done away all the prejudices at first entertained against the institute, that the clergy and nobility of the kingdom had openly declared in their favour, and that the kings of France had pledged to them their protection upon the warranty of the utility of the society, the prelates answered directly to the first question, in the following terms: "The "Jesuits are very useful to our dioceses, for preach- "ing, for the direction of souls, for establishing, "preserving, and renewing faith and piety by their "missions, their congregations, and their retreats, "which they do with our approbation, and under

" our authority. For these reasons, we are of " opinion, sire, that to stop their course of instruc- " tions would be highly prejudicial to our dioceses; " and, as for the education of youth, it would be " next to an impossibility to replace them with " effect, more especially in those country towns " where there is no university. Adhering, then, " sire, to the judgment passed upon the society of " Jesus, by so many sovereign pontiffs, and the coun- " cil of Trent, and in unison with the honourable " testimony given of the said society's services and " utility in France, by the clergy of your majesty's " kingdom, by the kings your royal predecessors, " and by your government, we are decidedly of " opinion, that by preventing any abuses that might " possibly creep into the exercise of their func- " tions, they cannot fail from being mainly service- " ble to religion, and to your majesty's kingdom."

2. The prelates assembled place the imputation of the odious doctrine of regicide to the society, to the account of the implacable hatred which the Calvinists bear against the Jesuits. They refer, in proof of their innocence, to the protection constantly given to them by the bishops of the realm, *who have at all times been so eminently renowned for their loyalty and attachment to the sacred persons of our monarchs.* They complain, that, in order to render the society odious, they have publicly accused them of having invented and given rise to a doctrine, that had been broached long before there was a Jesuit in the world. They allege, in proof of the horror in which the Jesuits hold every doctrine incompatible with the personal secu-

rity of the sovereign, and of their adoption of the principles laid down by the clergy of France, in the four articles of 1682, the declaration which they had just then been giving into their hands, praying that it might be enrolled in the episcopal court, as an everlasting test of their fidelity and loyalty; and they concluded in saying—" What " the Jesuits, sire, teach in our dioceses is there " publicly taught; persons of all ranks and condi- " tions are witnesses of what they teach; and we " confidently dare assure your majesty, that they " have never been charged before us, with teach- " ing the doctrines which are imputed to them. " Let those be questioned who have been brought " up in their colleges, who have frequented their " missions, their congregations, their retreats; con- " fident are we, that not one isolated individual will " be found, who will depose that he ever heard " them teach any doctrine incompatible with the " personal security of the sovereign, or contrary to " the principles of the state. We must even do " them the justice to attest, that in their colleges " they devote their own and their scholars' talents " to the sounding of the praises of our kings, and " inspiring those sentiments of respect and attach- " ment, which are due to the majesty and autho- " rity of our monarchs."

3. The prelates assembled admit, " that the bulls " of the sovereign pontiffs grant excessive privileges " to the Jesuits, as well as to other mendicant orders, " and that up to the year 1670, the Jesuits, as well as " the other mendicant orders, strove to avail them- " selves of these privileges against the common rights

"and jurisdiction of the ordinaries, under pretext that "the council of Trent, which abolished them, had not "yet been received in France; but from that period, "the Jesuits had set up no such pretensions; and "what is more, that, having renounced the privileges "imparted to their order by these bulls, in as far as "they clashed with the laws of the realm, and the "liberties of the Gallican church, and, having made "this renunciation in so very precise a manner that "could cover no equivocation, in the declaration "which they have recently presented, they have done "whatever could be reasonably expected of them "upon this head."

After they had cleared away all the apprehensions which may have pressed upon his majesty's mind, concerning the society's encroachments upon episcopal authority, the assembly concluded their answer to the third question, by proposing a regulation which would completely do away the very shadow of any such abuse.

4. Far from being alarmed at the authority of the general of the Jesuits, the prelates assembled declared, that it was at least no greater than that of the general of any other religious order; that he cannot dispose of the property of any of their houses within the king's dominions, but according to the laws of the realm, and under the directions of the royal commissioners. That by their conduct in the affair of the *regale*, which was honourably mentioned by M. Novion, then first president of the parliament, and by M. Talon, the king's attorney-general, they shewed, *better than by any chain of reasoning, that all the Jesuits are convinced their*

obedience to their generals, as prescribed in their constitution, obliges them to nothing incompatible with their duties of allegiance and submission to their sovereign.

In a word, say these prelates, *We are, sire, of opinion, that no change whatever ought to be made in the constitutions of the society of Jesus, with reference to the authority of their general.*

Thus did that assembly of 1761 express its sentiments respecting the society of Jesus. Here then are forty-four unimpeachable witnesses, invested with a sacred character, deposing, in the presence of their sovereign, in favour of the institute, doctrines, and conduct of the society. An authority of so imposing a nature ought unquestionably to have stayed the proceedings of these sovereign courts, in their encroachments upon the rights of the church, had the Jesuits' enemies at that time paid due attention to the sacred line of demarcation, by which God has separated the competency of the two powers. But the parliaments of that period were led astray by a wicked spirit of cabal and error; they despised the voice of the ministers of religion, and never ceased to persecute the institute with fresh and accumulated rancour. Yet the assembly of 1762 redoubled its zeal and efforts to bring over the royal authority in favour of the society: it presented a memorial from themselves to the throne, pressingly urging his majesty to keep the society on foot. "Sire," said the prelates convened, "in imploring your ma-"jesty at this time to preserve the society of Jesus, "we present to you the ardent wishes of every "ecclesiastical province of your realm. They can-

" not cast their eyes, without dismay, upon the de-
" struction of a religious order, renowned for the
" morality of their conduct, the rigour of their dis-
" cipline, the extent and variety of their lights and
" their labours, and the numberless services they
" have rendered both to the church and the state."
After having paid due homage to the utility of the society, the prelates recapitulate the marks of esteem and affection they had received from kings and people; are astounded at the ferocious harshness with which they had been put out of their colleges, their noviciates, and their property; have sought in vain for the grounds upon which the civil power has been thus armed against them; are indignant at the hardihood with which they have considered and treated, as impious and sacrilegious, those consitutions which had been consecrated by the recommendatory resolutions of the council of Trent, by the assembly of 1574, and by several popes; they loudly protest against the competency of the civil magistrate to arbitrate on the fate of the society; they set forth, in glowing colours, the advantages of religious education, the incalculable losses which it suffered from the difficulty to replace the Jesuits; the rights of the bishops to look and superintend the education of youth; in a word, they shew, throughout their memorial, which is drawn up with the most close and correct reasoning, that noble independence and pastoral vigilance, which become the first ministers of religion, when they support before the throne the high interests of the church and state.

CHAPTER IX.

Reflections upon the Facts and Testimonies comprised in the foregoing Chapters.

WERE a meditating and disinterested power chosen as umpire to deliver a definitive award or sentence upon the whole of the charges laid against the Jesuits, after having impartially poised the whole of the evidence in the double scales of truth and justice, would the society be acquitted or found guilty of the enormous crimes of which it has been accused in its doctrine and conduct?

I confidently affirm their innocence would be loudly proclaimed, whilst their enemies would be dismissed with ignominy, as the basest of calumniators.

In fact, must we not pronounce a man innocent, when his accusers are all men of party, swayed by hatred and revenge, whose evidence bears throughout irrefragable proofs of exaggeration and untruth; whilst, on the other hand, the witnesses who speak in favour of the accused, are invested with an august character, and that, so far from their having any personal interest in justifying him in the hypothesis of his guilt, they would, on the contrary, have a pressing interest in soliciting his condemnation?—For then, unquestionably, the judges, exercising their functions in open court, find incontestible proofs of the innocence of the party arraigned, in

the odious characters of his accusers, and the palpable falsity of their evidence, and in the commanding weight of the witnesses who appear in his favour. This sort of proof is the more irrefragable and conclusive, as it would recoil upon and prejudice the witnesses, in the supposition that the accused were really guilty.

I venture then to affirm, without fear of mistake, 1. That the accusers of the Jesuits are men of party, swayed by the spirit of hatred and revenge. 2. That their evidence bears, upon the very face of it, unequivocal badges of exaggeration and untruth. 3. That the witnesses who depose in their favour, are clothed with an august and respectable character. 4. That it would have been their interest to procure their condemnation, in case these religious men had been guilty of the crimes with which they are attempted to be branded.

1. The Jesuits' accusers are men of party, swayed by the spirit of hatred and revenge.

Who, in fact, are their accusers? The Protestants, the disciples of Jansens, and the unbelievers. We are surely warranted in denominating them men of party.

What right had Luther and Calvin, who were born children of the Catholic church, to replace the ancient faith with new and absurd doctrines, and to violate the very constitution of the church, by openly assailing the authority of the bishops and the pope? They acknowledged the divinity of the christian religion: they ought therefore to have continued to their last breath submissive to the government established by the Divine Founder of this august reli-

ligion, instead of revolting against it, under the pretext of reform. Such is the common plea for all sedition and conspiracy.

As to the disciples of Jansens, are they not also men of party? They admit the divinity of christianity, and even the infallibility of the church.—Yet are they carried away by the love of novelty, and the lust for rule: they have exhausted all the subtleties of the schools, and all the wiles of intrigue, with a view to elude the judgments of the universal church, and to withdraw themselves from the anathemas announced against their errors.

In fine, the unbelievers of the eighteenth century, enemies alike to the throne and the altar, who armed nations against their kings and governors, abusing and inverting sovereignty; who arrayed against God and his divine religion all the bad passions and errors of mankind, destroying every moral check and call of conscience, in order to plunge man into the fathomless gulph of freedom of thought and action,—were they not also men of party? Devoted to the spirit of revolt, and frantic in the unbridled lust for putting down and altering every institution, civil or religious, in order to be solemnly proclaimed the reformers of mankind, and deities on earth, warring audaciously against the Creator of the universe? Many of these dangerous innovators have, with sincerity, acknowledged the misfortune of their blind ambition, in the awful moment when error and passion rend each other asunder, and vanish into non-entity. They then clearly saw the errors of their system, as they stood on the awful brink of that eternity, during which they were

about to fall into the hands of their Almighty Creator, whom they had rebelled against. I call to witness Boulanger, who declared in his last moments, that he only opposed religion from the vanity of acquiring fashionable renown. I appeal to Raynal, who, in the beginning of the French revolution, was seized with horror and astonishment at the sight of the tragical scenes, which were the immediate results of that terrific triumph of philosophy. Again, I call to witness d'Argens, Toussaint, la Harpe, l'Archer, and several others, who made public avowals of their errors, abjured their crimes, and, by their confessions, defeated the execution of several fatal conspiracies, in which they had been implicated. In a word, I appeal to the leader of the irreligious host, to Voltaire himself, who, when dying, was surrounded by his perfidious friends, who could not damp in him the dread of the eternal judgments of a God, nor prevent him from expiring in the most deplorable agonies of despair.

But supposing these professed enemies of the society to be men of party, could their evidence be admitted against the Jesuits in any court where justice presided, if it were dictated by hatred and revenge? Unquestionably not; for evidence, emanating from such a source, is not the voice of truth uttered to detect crime, but the effusion of irritated passion, bent on the immolation of its victim. Not only would their evidence be rejected as suspicious, by equitable judges, as against the party arraigned, but it would be taken as corroborative of his innocence. Let me now bring back to the recollection of my reader, the reflections I have before submitted

to him concerning the character of the Jesuits' enemies. The outrageous violation of all forms of justice in the manner of condemning these religious men; the extraordinary rigour, or rather barbarity, with which they were robbed of their property, banished from their country, placed in a situation of belonging neither to the world nor to religion, without any consideration for the dignity of age, for the magnitude or length of services, nor even for the commanding majesty of virtue. Let me refresh his recollection of the debasing terms, *Jesuitical rabble and Loyola's miscreants*, which the heads of the party in their correspondence with each other made use of, to designate those respectable teachers of youth, who trained them up in every social and religious duty with such successful zeal; to describe those enlightened characters, who added so much to our literary glory, who enriched our circle of arts and sciences with so many valuable discoveries; those apostolic labourers in the vineyard, who were so renowned for relieving the sufferings of their fellow-creatures, for consoling the afflicted, and civilizing the most savage of nations. Let me retrace to his imagination the mean pitiful fury with which d'Alembert persecuted the expiring relicts of the society in Prussia, under the unbelieving monarch, and Voltaire was attempting to annihilate them in China, under an idolatrous prince; and if in this odious chain of illegal and barbarous proceedings, he discovers not hatred, then indeed must that disgusting passion of depraved men be remitted to the regions of fancy, and cease to have existence in this mortal life. And if hatred and revenge do taint

the consciences of the witnesses who depose against the society, I again repeat it, their evidence is at best suspicious, if it be not altogether conclusive in establishing their complete innocence.

2. All the charges laid against the Jesuits, carry upon the very face of them exaggeration and untruth.

Can there be a body of accusation more singular and more atrocious, than that which holds forth to the public the order of Jesuits as a low collection of individuals, brought together merely from self interest, scandalous bankrupts, intriguing ambitious regicides, idolaters and profligates, incessantly plotting for their own fortune, always planning conspiracies against the state, never without a murderous poignard in their hands, which they imbrue at every instant with the blood of kings and people. And alas! the Jesuits notoriously led a life of austerity, poverty and labour. All the rules of their institute tend to subdue the vicious dispositions of nature. Every thing in the constitution of their order, and in the discipline which is daily practised amongst them, is calculated to prevent, and to destroy in the very bud, all tendency to ambition, avarice, hatred, violence, and every other passion which create the troubles of families and states. And yet they insist upon this society being the veriest sink of vice, profligacy and crime, that ever contaminated the human race. They have the fool-hardiness to maintain, that the society contains in its bosom a gang of robbers and murderers, more terrible and dangerous than those of the noted Cartouche and Mandarin, who terrified their whole neighbourhood, and

robbed their countrymen of their gold and silver. These assassinated private individuals, but the Jesuits murdered kings; these assailed travellers on the high ways, the Jesuits set fire to the four corners of the world; they raised contributions upon small towns and villages, through which they spread alarm and terror, the Jesuits are the scourges of all cities and provinces, and of all empires. Is there a shade of truth, or even of probability, in all this mass of accusation?

A Jesuit rises at four of the clock in the morning, feeds very frugally, is poorly dressed, and has not even a fire in his chamber to sit by, unless in case of sickness. Obliged, in virtue of his vow and obedience, to perfect submission to all who hold the place of God over him, he quits his native soil, his family, his friends, his country, with the consent of his prince, to fly upon the wings of obedience to whatever spot the voice of his superior calls him. He may be entitled from the nobility of his birth, or the supereminence of his talents, to possess an ample fortune, or to be raised to some post of honour or dignity; yet he voluntarily shuts himself out of both by his ordinary vow of poverty, and his special vow never to solicit upon any pretext whatsoever preferment in his own order, or any clerical promotion whatever. The greater part of the society spend their lives in the education of youth, or in missions, or in the pursuits of science. The general of the order has no other distinction from his subjects than his title. The following sketch is from the pen of a writer, who had the opportunity of seeing and judging from himself. "The general of the Je-

" suits is generally alone and retired, and mostly oc-
" cupied in writing; he has not even a fire in his
" room in winter; nor is there even a chafing dish
" in his antichamber during the severest cold: some
" old fashioned chairs, some books of piety, some
" few prints and some paintings, make up the fur-
" niture of his apartment. A small study to work
" in, and a chapel to say mass in, make up his suite
" of apartments. When admitted to an audience of
" the pope, and when he has visits to make to cardi-
" nals, a Roman nobleman lends him the use of a car-
" riage. He has no other equipage than a chaise
" for two persons, which conveys him to Castel-Gan-
" dolfe, when he goes thither for country air. He sits
" in the first seat in the refectory, but he has no other
" distinction. He commands no funds, enjoys no re-
" venue, no private purse, no annual pension; neither
" has he any servant to pay, no house to entertain,
" nor any sort of expense to make. His whole train
" of attendants consists of two lay brothers to wait
" upon him, four secretaries to write letters, one as-
" sistant from every nation to aid him with advice,
" a monitor to be a witness of his conduct, and to
" watch all his motions He possesses no other dis-
" tinction, no other honour, no other consideration,
" than what flow from the respect which his order
" has for his authority, the love which they enter-
" tain for his person, and the veneration they pay to
" his virtues."*

In this general of the Jesuits, poor and humble in his dress, in his furniture simple, and austere in his

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* *Coup d'œil.*

manners, superintended and watched by a monitor, and an assistant from every nation, do the enemies of the society discover a despôt, who brings around him the gold and silver of the old and new world; a tyrant that renders all his subjects wretched, and who is drunk with the blood of kings. In these religious men, tied down by the vow of monastic poverty, do they behold self-interested merchants, traversing the most dangerous seas, braving the changes of climate, defying the rocks and perils of the most hazardous navigation, with the view to amass fortunes, and lead a life of opulence. In these religious instructors of youth, who devote themselves to these obscure and painful duties; in these religious men, applying themselves to the higher studies, and to learned meditations, do they perceive men of blood and sedition, pining with thirst after honours and places, regicides and revolution-men, heading every conspiracy, and directing the parricidal steel in the hands of every king-killer throughout the globe. If there be not exaggeration in these multifarious and ignominous charges, exaggeration was never known in the writings of the most partial authors, in the most fabulous tales of poets, and fabricators of romance.

Was there ever a more ridiculous and improbable tale invented, than that of the enlistment of Louis XIV under the banners of St. Ignatius? Marvellous faith indeed must be required, of which I am incapable, to believe, on the bare word of the Jesuits' enemies, that that high-minded monarch had so damped his warlike ardour, as to have laid by all his military character, crouched to father Tellier, renounc-

ed all his attachment to the grandeur of the world, and carried his devotion to the point of making, under the seduction of that father, the three ordinary vows of religion, and even the fourth special vow, for going on any mission to which he might be sent.

What, in fine, are we to think of that act of the parliament of Paris, so revolting, and, at the same time, so highly ridiculous, that declares the institute is inadmissible, *from its nature, into any regular government,* as being contrary to the rights of nature, derogatory from the spiritual and temporal power, &c. Henry III, Henry IV, Louis XIII, Louis XIV, the greater part of the German princes, and all the sovereigns of Europe, are thus formally arraigned by the parliament of Paris, for having introduced into their respective states, an institute incompatible, from its nature, with any regular government. Here then are twenty sovereign pontiffs, one general council, almost all the bishops of the catholic church, convicted by this sovereign court of having praised, panegyrized, and approved of an institute, which they ought to have denounced and condemned, as contrary to the rights of man, and destructive of the spiritual and temporal power.— Up to the period at which this fulminating act emanated from the sanctuary of justice, the first ministers of religion had perceived, in this collection of maxims and rules framed for keeping alive in the society the spirit of their holy founder, nothing but a sublime code of law, drawn from and founded upon the evangelical counsels, the knowledge of the human heart, and the experience of ages. But in

one instant, the parliament of Paris, illuminated by an extraordinary light, sets at defiance the wisdom of the pontiffs, and the infallibility of a general council. Better versed in morality than the judges of faith and the instructors of the faithful, this parliament has discovered mysteries of iniquity, and encroachments on the rights of nature, precisely where the universal church respected the divine light, and admired an institute as *pious and holy*, and a model of religious perfection.

As to the emperors, kings, and sovereign princes, who have commended the institute, and protected the Jesuits in their states, they are convicted by this same parliament, of having wished to carry back their people to the days of barbarism, which neither knew nor practised any civilized form of government. For, since the institute is incompatible with any civilized form of government, the Jesuits, who profess it and follow its maxims, are of course dangerous subjects, who ought to make the people incline to the manners of barbarians, and lead them as insensibly to that ignoble state of brutality, in which the Hurons, the Illinois, and the Iroquois were found, before they had been humanized and civilized by the sacred light of the gospel. To countenance, then, encourage, and protect such men as these, would be to drive people back to the blindness of superstition, and re-plunge them headlong into the vices of barbarism. Yet true it is, that these very men, so declared inadmissible into a civilized state, have successfully cultivated the arts and sciences, not in the wilds and forests, but in the principalities and kingdoms,

which have attained the highest degree of civilization; true it is, that wherever their services have been accepted, there have they uniformly displayed the most brilliant examples of evangelical virtue and perfection; soothing human misery in the hospitals, lightening in the prisons the sufferings which help to expiate crimes, and softening on the scaffolds the bitterness of death, for the victims of human justice; preaching to the people on their missions, and to the kings on their thrones, mildness, humility, patience, forgiveness of injuries, zeal for public welfare, and every virtue that honours christianity and dignifies humanity. True also is it, that at the peril of their liberty and lives, at the price of their sweat and their blood, they have humanized, civilized, and organized these savage hordes of America, that wandered through the forests like wild beasts, and fed on human flesh like voracious tigers and famished lions. No matter: yet in virtue of the act of parliament of Paris, of the 6th of August 1762, in defiance of these prodigies of charity and civilization, the Jesuits, as well as their institute, are declared inadmissible into any civilized state whatever. Thus the interminable forests of America, and the burnt up deserts of Africa, were to become the last refuge of these religious men, the bark of trees and the skins of bears were to furnish them with rayment; hunting and fishing were to supply their daily food; and, if the civilized nations of the earth would not fall back into their former ignorance and brutishness, they must necessarily drive the Jesuits from amongst them, as Europe for a long time struggled against

the inundation of the barbarians from the north, who laid waste the flourishing realms of the south, infected the people of the continent with their vices, and threatened to ingulph mankind in that lamentable state of brutality, in which they were themselves immersed Thus has the parliament of Paris decided, that Charles V, Henry IV, and Louis XIV, and many other princes, must remain condemned, so long as the ministers of the living God, who are charged with the care of watching over and preserving the sacred deposit of revelation, shall bow with obsequiousness before this lay tribunal, as the infallible interpreter of the rights of nature. Have the magistrates, who passed this judgment, as disgraceful to the throne as to the altar, been aware of the direct consequences resulting from it? Never can I believe they were so blinded or so besotted, as not to have seen what flashes before the eyes even of the poreblind. At the fatal hour, then, at which this iniquitous act was passed, hatred must have ousted justice from her seat. Whatever side is taken between these two rocks (one or the other of them will always be unavoidable), it is evident, that in the language of this sovereign court, (the declared enemies of the society) there is both palpable exaggeration and ridiculous falsehood.

3. The witnesses, who depose in favour of the the utility of the institute and the innocence of the Jesuits, are invested with an august character, which commands respect and inspires confidence.

There exists nothing amongst mortals more august and sacred, than the holiness of virtue, the brilliancy of genius, the majesty of the throne, and

the dignity of the priesthood. These respectable titles and illustrious qualities have, more or less, characterized every one of the witnesses who have deposed in favour of the Jesuits' innocence. Out of the numerous host of witnesses favourable to the society, that came immediately under our eyes, we have selected for our purpose Henry IV, Louis XIV, the dauphin, father of Louis XVI, Catharine II, empress of all the Russias, Richelieu, cardinal de Fleury, Bossuet, Bacon, Leibnitz, several parliaments, Clement XIII, the general assemblies of French clergy in 1761 and 1762, and several other corporations or respectable individuals. I shall not waste time in proving, that the pleasing recollections of genius, of virtue, of the royal authority, and pontifical dignity, are inseparable from those illustrious names, which are indelibly graven on our historic pages. Should the enemies of the society have the hardihood to contest this glory with them, the well-informed, and all posterity, would set them down as grossly ignorant, or wickedly false. They may, perhaps, endeavour to reply in attenuation of the force of their evidence, that these great men were mislead in the judgment they formed of the utility of the institute, and the innocence of the society.

Such a reply would prove a shameful defeat; and I hesitate not to affirm, would be devoid of the slightest plausibility. In obscure and abstruse questions of morality, metaphysics, law, and natural science, the brightest genius may be mislead by sophism, and embrace an error, while he thinks he adheres to truth. But upon clear and unquestion-

able facts, such as the existence of the sun, a man cannot err, unless passion so transport him, as to deprive him of the sane exercise of his judgment; nor can he adopt error, unless personal interest, gaining an ascendency over his virtue, induce him to trample under foot the truth of history. Now the crimes imputed to the Jesuits by their enemies, are, upon the very face of the charges themselves, public and notorious facts, which passed not in darkness or the impenetrability of forests, but upon the vast and open theatre of all the kingdoms upon earth. They charge them with teaching an infamous system of morality, that overturns, root and branch, every principle of natural law, and all the sacred rules of conscience. The Jesuits preached openly in their colleges, before crowned heads, and in all the churches of the catholic world; they taught theology in their own colleges, and in universities; and their books, from which so many genuine or unfair quotations have been made, are to be found both in public and private libraries.— They were known to the bishops, who took their defence in hand; for, in clearing the society from the imputation of teaching loose morality, they have not failed to stigmatize those authors, who were reprehensible, from having afforded just grounds for censure. They accuse them, moreover, of being ambitious, regicides, and seditious, who murdered kings, and brought troubles into all their states.— History was open to the eyes of Henry IV, Louis XIV, Catharine II, Richelieu, Bossuet, and so many celebrated men of learning, who have bestowed liberal praises upon the Jesuits. It cannot then be

pretended, that they were ignorant of the ruling passions and prevailing crimes, with which they attempt to brand the society, without fastening the most gross and culpable ignorance upon those illustrious princes and immortal genii. There is but one shift more, by which they can attempt to weaken their evidence, which is, to pretend that the public, or their own private interest, had so fascinated their senses, that they took for chimerical phantoms, facts which took place in the sight and with the knowledge of all mankind; or else, that they were so overpowered by these two prevalent incentives, as to be determined to apologize for vice and crime at every hazard, in defiance of truth and virtue. If this, then, be the last resort of the enemies of the society, I scruple not to declare, that it rests upon a ridiculous paradox, and a superstructure of downright absurdity. This will be easily demonstrated in proving the fourth proposition which I have advanced, namely, that both the public and private interest of the apologists for the society, far from exciting them to speak favourably of the Jesuits, would, on the contrary, have been a most powerful motive for procuring their condemnation, and getting their order proscribed, as a body deserving the execration of mankind, if it had been really guilty of the charges brought against it.

What public or what private interest could have induced either Bacon or Leibnitz to esteem and favour the Jesuits? Both of them were brought up in a sect separated from the catholic church, and it would have been more natural for them to despise

and discredit them, as the most powerful opposers of their errors. Yet the illustrious chancellor of England laments their not being settled in his country *Why, being what you are, do you not belong to us ?* And, if the German philosopher blames some of the society, for carrying to excess the interests of their own body, yet, is he indignant at the malice of the calumnies raised against them, and frankly confesses that their society boasts of some of the first characters existing.

What public or what private interest could have determined Henry IV to recall into his states, and protect, against the violent attacks of the parliament of Paris, a society, who had, as alleged, sharpened against him the steel of Barriere and de Chatel, were they, in fact, but a vile gang of seditious and murderous conspirators ?

What public or what personal interest could have worked upon Louis XIV, to induce him to take under the mantle of his royal protection, a desperate band of ruffians, disguised under the fair emblems of religion, and rendered the more mischievous and dangerous, by the imposing external guise of piety and zeal ? In lieu of ensuring and extending the glory of his crown and of his kingdom, of which he was ever so tenacious and jealous, would not such ill-placed favour, on the contrary, have exposed the throne and the kingdom of France to the machinations of all crimes, and the dangers of revolution ?

What public or private interest could have inspired Catharine II with the idea of writing to the head of the church, with equal freedom and energy,

that this renowned society, was a body of *peaceable and innocent men;* that of all the catholic religious orders, that was the best fitted to infuse into her subjects the sentiments of humanity, and the principles of the Christian religion, and that she was determined to support it against any power whatsoever? Was she compelled, in order to gratify a handful of catholics thinly scattered over her vast empire, to compromise the safety of her person and her throne, with the peace and welfare of so many millions of subjects under her to rule?

Finally, what public and what private interest could have engaged the bishops of France to vindicate the morals of the Jesuits against the calumniating charges of their enemies? I am fully aware, that the Jesuits formed a very formidable force to act against the progress of the modern philosophy, like a compacted veteran phalanx of soldiers, habituated to victory, and that they gave it a very powerful check; and on this very score did the society claim title to the best support which religion could afford it. But in order to defend Christianity against the ravages of these impious doctrines, did it become necessary to trample under foot all the writings of the holy fathers and doctors of the church, to tear up the pages of the holy gospel, and substitute for them a system of public education, which authorized robbery, homicide, blasphemy, regicide, adultery, idolatry, and all the crimes which sully the perverted stated of man. No, never will the public interest of religion persuade a body of prelacy, enlightened as well as pious, that the edifice of Christianity is to be propt up by but-

tresses of such gross criminality. Better a hundred times over would it be for the cause of Christianity, that their last sanctuary should be abolished, and the very last altar, on which the sacred victim is immolated, be precipated into the ocean, than to redeem religion at such a price: I should have said *apostacy*. It was by the divine assistance imparted to the evangelical labours in the vineyard, that Christianity conquered idolatry; that it raised itself in the world like a magnificent temple, into which came the kings of the earth and their people, to humble their pride, and lay down at the feet of the living God, the trophies obtained over superstition and vice, as the homage of their gratitude, and tribute of their submission. This temple then, in which all virtues are consecrated, and all vices eternally condemned, retains no longer any stability or glory in a realm, by reason of the treason of the ministers of the Most High. Then again, by taking in hand the defence of such loose and scandalous morality, would not the prelates of the Gallican church, have sunk down their characters, and forfeited all their claim to respect and confidence from the faithful children of the church? Did not personal interest impose upon them the indispensable duty of commending the society in whatever was commendable in it, and of condemning whatever was censurable in it? In imploring of his majesty the preservation of their order, ought they not to have proposed the means of checking the growth of these newly-taught doctrines, as they wished to efface for ever the slightest stain of the abuses, which the numerous privileges and papal indults

granted to the society may have given rise to? To have acted in any other manner would have been an evident attempt to abuse the confidence of their sovereign, the sure means of incurring his displeasure, and their inevitable fall into public disgrace and infamy.

We have now proved the truth of the four propositions, which we undertook to demonstrate: namely, 1. That the accusers of the society were men of party, swayed by the spirit of hatred and revenge. 2. That their evidence bears upon it the face of exaggeration and untruth. 3. That the witnesses who have deposed in favour of the Jesuits, are clothed with an august character, that commands respect and inspires confidence. 4. That these respectable witnesses were not induced to become the apologists of the society, from any motive of public or private interest that contravened the truth; for if the society had been guilty of the charges brought against it, it would have been their double interest to rank with its accusers, and omit nothing which could bring about their condemnation.

What will the enemies of the institute oppose to this mass of evidence and proofs? They may perhaps allege, that if men of learning have taken their defence in hand, they were men also of learning, who have charged them with the greatest crimes; that if at one period the sovereigns of Europe received and protected them in their states, at a more recent period, the catholic courts, being better informed of the true character of the society, and more thoroughly apprised of the disasters with which they had overwhelmned all nations, have con-

demned, proscribed, stripped them of their property, and devoted them to the execration of all future ages. What a wretched shift! What a drivelling and mean retreat of insincerity and fraud!

We have clearly demonstrated, by incontestible facts, by authentic writings, that those men of learning, who were the enemies of the Jesuits, were men of party, devoted either to heresy or impiety; that they had been contradicted by men of their own sects, though less transported by their passions; that the Catholic princes, who had expelled them from their states, had been influenced and overruled in their councils by philosophic or Jansenian ministers; that the very violent persecution, of which this celebrated society has been the victim, is a fair presumption of its innocence, in as much as their zeal to defend religion and the church, has been their capital offence, and the success and importance of their services, the cause of their destruction.

The proofs, which we have alleged in favour of these illustrious objects of persecution, lose nothing of their force; the evidence is irrefragable. But if, after having brought together so many glorious monuments of the utility of the institute, so many respectable testimonies of the innocence of the society in the face of all Europe, so many conclusive arguments in support of the facts and evidence, they still persist in denouncing the order, as guilty of the most unheard of crimes, I must thenceforth conclude, that there exist no longer any means of justifying innocence in a court of justice; and that consequently every accusation of a capital offence, must even, without trial, lead the accused to infamy

or the scaffold. For what men were ever accused, and were furnished with such a store of means to repel the unjust attack, by such conclusive reasoning, such notorious facts, and such unquestionable evidence? Here then these unfortunate victims of calumny confidently present themselves before their judges, surrounded by this honourable retinue of witnesses to their innocence, selected from amongst kings and sovereigns, the faithful ministers of thrones, the brightest ornaments of genius and talent, and the pontiffs of a divine religion.

The innocence of the society of Jesuits, handled with so much harshness, pursued with such relentless hatred, has then been completely made out by historical documents. And if some few individual members of the order should be proved to have gone somewhat astray, either in doctrine or conduct, from the right road of truth and virtue, the whole body is not branded for the failings of these individuals. With this reflection might I close the discussion I have taken upon me to make upon this contention which has occupied the whole world; but to avoid the suspicion of fearing to face the detail of the charges imputed to the body at large, I readily consent to enter into the examination of the four capital charges constantly urged against the society by its enemies; namely, regicide, avarice, ambition, and laxity of morals.

CHAPTER IX.

Examination of the Charge of Regicide.

THE charges of regicide laid to the account of the society of Jesuits are, the teaching publicly the murderous doctrine, that it is at all times lawful to kill sovereigns, when they abuse their power to oppress their subjects or overthrow religion; to disturb the state by plots and sedition, and to take away the lives of princes by means which excite horror and provoke indignation. So serious an imputation, at the very thought of which every upright man must shudder, makes a prominent part of the report *(Comptes rendus)* given into the parliaments, is the leading feature of all the libels written against the institute, about the time of its destruction, as well as of those recent publications of which I have before mentioned the titles. My task then in this chapter will be to discuss the doctrine of regicide, as attributed to the society, and the overt acts of regicide, and actual attempts to overthrow kingdoms, of which it was the object to convict the Jesuits.

§ 1.

Of the Doctrine of Regicide attributed to the Jesuits.

If false principles and systems of anarchy become frequently the fuel which lights and keeps up

the fire of sedition in states, sometimes also the actual troubles and revolutions of states engender false opinions and dangerous theories. In the beginning of the 15th century, John Petit, a graduate of the university of Paris, was bribed by the duke of Burgundy, who had caused the duke of Orleans to be assassinated, to maintain openly in the university of Paris this thesis: *That it is not only lawful, but meritorious, to kill a tyrant.* This horrible doctrine was condemned in the general council of Constance, holden in the year 1414. Never was there but one Jesuit, namely Mariana, who ever attempted to revive this opinion, not indeed in the full extent, and to the purport, that it was broached by John Petit; the anathema of the council was too palpable, and too well known, for him to dare to contravene it so audaciously; he qualified it to a certain degree, though not so as to justify the modification. The Parisian doctor had maintained, that every subject and every vassal might kill a tyrant. The Jesuit pretended, that for want of a general assembly of the nation, an individual might lawfully kill him, if thereunto authorized by the public voice of the people, and the private approbation of grave and learned men. The king of Spain was at this time under the influence of unwise counsels, and had conceived a foolish and mischievous idea, that the propagation of this doctrine would, under existing circumstances, favour the interests of his government; and under this conviction he accepted the dedication of Mariana's book. The body at large was in no manner affected by the circumstance, for

in 1599, that is, as soon as the work was published, the Jesuits apprized their general of it, and he immediately issued his orders, that the noxious doctrine should be corrected. "Our father general," says Richeome, in his Examination of a publication, intituled the *Anti-Coton*, "having been advertised "by me, when I was at Bourdeaux in 1599, and by "our fathers of France, ordered that it should be "corrected; nor would any copy of the work have "after that appeared, if the heretics, in order to turn "it to their own account, had not printed a new "edition of it, with its original fault." In fact, the protestants wished to avail themselves of this work of Mariana, to lower the society in the eyes of the public; but Hessius argued that they could not, without calumny, ascribe to the society at large the doctrine contained in that book; Gretzer insisted, that it was an opinion peculiar to the author alone; and Keller observes, that Mariana was right in calling it *his own* opinion, for he was not aware of having ever read it in the work of any other Jesuit. But the most commanding and important authority for this not being the doctrine of the order, is that of their general Aquaviva, who formally condemned it by a decree in 1610. "We command and enjoin," says he, "by this present decree, in virtue of holy "obedience, under pain of excommunication and in-"ability for any office, and suspension from the sa-"cred functions, and other arbitrary penalties re-"served to us, that no religious of our society do, "either in public or private, in reading or giving "advice, and much less in publishing any work, pre-"sume to maintain, that it is lawful for any person

" whomsoever, or under any colour or pretence what-
" soever of tyranny, to kill kings or princes, or at-
" tempt any violence upon their persons: lest such
" doctrine should open the road to the ruin of prin-
" ces, and disturb the peace or expose to doubt and
" hazard the lives of those, whom, according to the
" ordinance of God, we ought to honour and respect,
" as sacred persons appointed by God to rule and
" govern the people in happiness. Wherefore our
" will is, that all the provincials, who shall have ac-
" quired any knowledge of these things, and shall
" not have corrected the defaulters, or shall not have
" provided against these inconveniences, or shall
" have neglected to put this decree into strict exe-
" cution, not only shall incur all the before mention-
" ed penalties, but they themselves, shall be deprived
" of their offices and appointments; in order that
" every one may know what is the doctrine of the
" society upon this head, and that the fault of one in-
" vidual may not fall upon others, or render them
" suspected, I appeal to the fair judgment and con-
" science of every upright man, if it be not notori-
" ously admitted, that the fault of a single member
" can not be placed to the account of the whole
" body. We will moreover, that all these provin-
" cials, acknowledge to us the receipt of this decree,
" and that they announce and make it known
" throughout their respective provinces, and then,
" that they make an entry of it in the archives of all
" their houses and colleges, in order that its me-
" mory and observance may remain inviolate for
" ever. CLAUDIUS AQUAVIVA."

" *Rome*, 6 *July*, 1610."

So formal and explicit a disavowal of Mariana's doctrine, ought unquestionably for ever to have sealed the lips of these unceasing calumniators of the society upon that score. But the Jansenists, who are all trained up to the arts of perplexing, confounding, and eluding the most simple and plain propositions, soon pretended to discover captious terms in this letter of Aquaviva, under which certain persons were allowed to kill a prince who abused his power to oppress his subjects. They cavilled upon the term *cuicunque personæ*. Instead of translating these words in their ordinary acceptation and obvious meaning, *to any person whomsoever*, they translated them, *to all manner of persons;* as if it had been the intent of Aquaviva to insinuate, that there really was a certain description of persons who lawfully might attempt the life of a tyrant. This to be sure is a mean pitiable shuffle. Not only does this forced translation contravene the natural and obvious sense of the original text, but is palpably falsified by the ultimate inferences, and the intermediate bearings of the whole context. Aquaviva proscribes the doctrine of Mariana, for fear it should open the road to the ruin of princes, and break up their peace and security. Had he limitted his declaration, by limiting the prohibition to certain persons, under certain circumstances, to kill them, instead of extending the inhibition to all persons indefinitely, would he not have opened the way to the ruin of princes, whilst he was wishing to secure their persons? Would he not thereby be laying down a principle destructive of the peace of the state, instead of ensuring it a warranty, founded

upon the true principles of public order and tranquillity? He moreover adds, that he proscribes the teaching of this king-killing doctrine, under pain of excommunication, and other severe punishments, because this doctrine *puts in doubt and hazard the personal safety of those, whom the ordinance of God commands us to honour and respect, as the sacred persons appointed by his divine omnipotence to rule and govern his people in happiness.* If he authorizes certain persons to plunge the dagger into the breast of a lawful sovereign, should he abuse his power by vexing and tyrannizing over his subjects, how is it that he ensures the personal safety of the king? Is that person sacred and inviolable, who may be murdered without a crime? Is his life secure, when it is at the mercy of all his discontented and seditious subjects, by declaring, that it is forbidden to all manner of persons to deprive him of his existence, without designating the particular class of persons to whom it is lawful to put him to death? And how shall such a prince rule and govern his people in happiness, whilst his person and throne are hourly exposed to danger? It is then glaringly evident, that this Jansenian version of Aquaviva's decree is entirely false, and most unwarrantably tortures the original text, in order to convert that general of the order of St. Ignatius into a professed king-killer. It is moreover diametrically contrary to the sense in which it has ever been taken by the society itself, and particularly by the celebrated father Coton, who translated the decree as I have above given it. This never even entered the minds of the parliament of Paris, for

they were so satisfied with the general Aquaviva's decree, that upon the occasion of publishing a work of Suarez, intituled, *A Defence of the Catholic Faith,* they required, by an act dated on the 26th of June, 1614, of the fathers Armond, Coton, Fronton, and Sirmond, to solicit their general to renew that same decree, and have it published, so that they might register it within six months. So far was cardinal Richelieu from suspecting the society of teaching this doctrine, that it was to this very decree of Aquaviva, that he referred the four ministers of Charenton, who charged the society with teaching regicide, in order to learn from it, what were the real sentiments of that illustrious society upon that head of accusation. The opinion then of Mariana is not what the Jesuits teach. It is, on the contrary, blamed and condemned by the order, and by their general at their head.

Some other opinions, less bold and dangerous than those of Petit and Mariana, gained credit and extensive circulation through Germany, and several other states of Europe. Divines and lawyers generally distinguished two sorts of tyrants; one of *usurpation,* the other of *administration.* They consider the first as a public robber, that attempts to extinguish the liberty of a nation, and seize by violence the throne of the rightful possessor. The second has a right to rule and govern his subjects; but he exercises his rights and prerogatives in such an oppressive manner, that he becomes as formidable and odious to them as a wild beast, or a ferocious monster. In the 16th century, it seemed to be the common opinion both of divines and lawyers,

that any individual might lawfully kill the usurper, because he has no right to the crown; and it is moreover to be presumed to be the will of the prince and people, that his life should be taken away, if there be no other obvious means of ridding the state of his usurpation. But as to him who abused his rights by excessively oppressing his subjects, they generally held that the representatives of the nation in a general assembly might depose him, and even condemn him to death, in case he continued his vexatious oppression after the nation had willed his deposition. But they did not allow any private individual to attempt his life, unless formally authorized so to do, by the body of the nation having passed and promulgated a proscriptive sentence of attainder against him. Should any one harbour a shadow of doubt whether such were, at that day, the general and common opinion of divines and lawyers, he needs only to look into *The Answer to the Assertions* (3 vol. art. *Of Tyrannicide*), or *The Appeal to Reason*, by the abbé de Caveyrac, and all his doubts and difficulties upon this head will vanish. In this latter work, he would find quotations in abundance from theologians and law-writers, which formally and explicitly express this doctrine. But the society of Jesuits was not specially gifted by God with the attribute of infallibility, which our French doctors refuse even to the head of the church, so as to be secure from all the common errors of their age. Is it then to be wondered at, that Suarez, and some other writers of the society, then maintained these opinions? And if, because they were not sufficiently enlightened, to anticipate

their dangerous tendency from the consequences likely to result from them, the public have a right to arraign and condemn the society of sedition and regicide, then indeed must we also include in this sweeping judgment and its consequences, all the cotemporary universities, all other religious orders, and the whole profession of the law.

It must be specially observed, that amongst the thirteen Jesuits, to whom they ascribe this king-killing doctrine, there are some of them, such as Escobar, who speak only of deposition, without saying a word of death. And it should be more especially noticed, that when their general, father Aquaviva, made head against the progress of this erroneous doctrine, he forbad the provincials to permit any work to go to press, which handled the question of tyrannicide, or the temporal power of the popes over sovereigns, unless first revised and approved of at Rome. A succeeding general of the order, father Oliva, not only condemned, but wrote against this doctrine, with great warmth and force of argument. "A prince," says he,* "may sometimes resign his "own crown; but none but God, or the sacri- "legious hand of mortal, can force it from him. "After God, the king is the first to whom St. Peter "tells us we must render homage. *Honour the "king.* But what king, great God! did the apos- "tle enjoin his disciples to honour? Nero, that "infamous buffoon, a base glutton, the horror of "his own gods, the scourge of mankind, the mon- "ster that tore open the womb of his own mother,

* In 1 Esd. cap. 7. vol. 3, Ludg. 1679.

" the hydra of hiscountry, the tyrant of the globe. " St. Paul said to Titus, *Put them in mind to be " subject to principalities and powers.* Since such " were the lessons which St. Paul gave at Rome, " such the examples of the young men in the fiery " furnace, I know not with what manner of phrenzy " certain persons are actuated, who fancy they " please Heaven by railing at those whom the pro- " phets honoured at Babylon, whom Paul at Rome " ordered Titus, and Peter enjoined all the pastors " of the church, to cause to be respected."

" Even corrupt princes," says again Oliva, in his Dissertations upon the Gospels, p. 192, " must be " honoured, and not despised. They bear the image " of the divinity, although they sully it. Samuel " cried over Saul; he armed not his hand against " him. The crimes of kings are to be expiated, not " in blood, but in tears; and even of those who " consecrated them."

In a word, there is an opinion relative to the fair and lawful defence of one's own life, upon which they have hazarded a fresh charge of regicide against the Jesuits. Daniel Concina, a dominican, and a large number of divines and lawyers, have maintained, that it is lawful to defend one's own life, at the risk of that of the sovereign, when he is the unjust aggressor, and the assailed has no other means of avoiding death.* Out of five hundred Jesuits, who have written on moral divinity, and most of whom

* See *The Appeal to Reason*, in which the abbé Caveyrac has brought together all the arguments by quotation from their authors.

had occasion to treat this question, only seven of them, namely, Azor, Keller, Suarez, Lorin, Lessius, Comitolus, and Busembaum, have adopted this opinion. This sufficed, like the touch of a magic wand, to convert in an instant the society into a desperate gang of regicides. It is a singular and laughable sort of logic, that is constantly confounding a body of fifteen or twenty thousand men with some few individuals; and, in order to blast the credit of a religious order, possessing generally the esteem of nations, and the confidence of their sovereigns, to people, as it were, the whole surface of the earth with troops of theological and legal regicides. Thus, by dint of suppression, misrepresentation, and slander, have these relentless enemies of the Jesuits exposed themselves before the informed and independent public, as contemptible and degraded drivellers.

This is not all; Azor, Lessius, Suarez and Busembaum, have so qualified this very doctrine, that they have brought the case in which it is lawful to kill a royal unjust aggressor, *se defendendo*, to a real metaphysical subtilty. They have so narrowed the case, that they say, if, from putting to death the prince who so wantonly assails one, there be grounds to apprehend any evil to the state, then charity and regard to the public welfare impose the duty of letting oneself be killed. So that, let a prince be ever so profligate, some inconveniency to the state must always be apprehended; there will therefore generally be on such occasions a call of duty in the individual to sacrifice his life, rather than create danger to the public weal. We may here add, that

M. de Monclar, notwithstanding the little partiality he has shewn to the disciples of St. Ignatius, had freely confessed (Note 70) that there was but little practical danger in the doctrine of the seven Jesuits. But if by teaching this doctrine, they might create ever so slight an apprehension in any prince, is that a reason, that they are to be put on a level with Clement, Barrieres, Chatel, Ravaillac, and Damiens, whose very names inspire horror, and awaken the indignation of posterity? To teach and preach up regicide, is to maintain, that in certain cases we may attempt the life of the sovereign; but he, who only defends his own life, does not properly make an attempt upon that of another. In proof of this, I appeal not only to grammarians, but to our crown lawyers, who are in the daily habit of interpreting our criminal code, and to the courts themselves, which punish all treasonable attempts upon the life of the sovereign. I desire not to be understood to marshal myself with those divines of the society, who maintain this opinion; I have no such thought; I only mean to point out the absurdity and folly of those impassioned authors, who cannot veiw a Jesuit without setting him down for a professed regicide, and, like the knight errant of Cervantes, when called upon to redress grievances and repair injustice, took every windmill for a giant, and a flock of sheep for an army.

In short, the formal disavowal, by the superiors of the order, of Busembaum's doctrine, clearly develops the perfidy of their enemies. Some propositions extracted from the works of this author, commented upon by La Croix, beginning to make a sensation in

1757, after an utter silence of above a hundred years, the Jesuits of Paris presented a memorial to the parliament, in which they declared, "That they "never had professed nor adopted, nor ever would "profess or adopt, either publicly or privately, such "false and detestable maxims as are to be found "scattered through the works of Busembaum and "the commentary of La Croix.....That they consi- "der the very idea of the lawfulness of attempting "the sacred life of the sovereign, under any circum- "stance or pretext whatever, as horrible and exe- "crable, and that they detest and abjure the opi- "nions, which sanction, or which effect to sanction "it, not only in Busembaum and La Croix, but in "any of the authors quoted by them, or any other "writer whomsoever, in whose works such opinions "may occur, in whatever country, or under what- "ever government, such authors may have written "and published those criminal propositions." The superiors of Rennes and Thoulouse had already given into their respective parliaments memorials of a similar tendency. This opinion therefore of Busembaum, Suarez, and the five other Jesuits, upon the defence of one's own life, when unjustly assailed by the sovereign, cannot fairly be said to be taught and maintained by the society, more than the doctrine of Mariana and some other doctors upon the question of tyrannicide.

To these documents, which clearly vindicate the society from the imputation of the doctrine of regicide, we beg leave to add a solemn declaration, which the Jesuits presented to Louis XV, in the year 1761. At that period, the society was violently

arraigned on the score of their institute, and of their doctrines. The then chancellor Lamoignon sent the draught of a declaration to the provincials of the five provinces of the Jesuits in France, requiring of them to return to him a copy of it, signed by all the priests and young Jesuits of the different colleges and houses throughout the kingdom. This declaration purports, amongst other things, "that "they (the Jesuits) do hold and profess, and al- "ways will hold and profess, that in any case or "in any place, or under any pretext of tyranny or "vexation, or persecution for religion, or on any "other pretence whatsoever, it is not and cannot "ever be lawful for any person, of any rank or con- "dition whatsoever, to attempt the life of the sove- "reign, directly or indirectly, or to write, speak, in- "sinuate or abet, or do any thing which may have "a tendency to put the person of the sovereign in "danger; that they condemn and detest, as pernici- "cious and execrable to all generations, every posi- "tion to the contrary thereof, in every book now "published, whether written by one of their so- "ciety, or any other author whomsoever."

So well was his majesty satisfied with this declaration, that in an edict, which he published in the month of March of the ensuing year, it was specially referred to, as the ground for a well founded expectation of the royal protection to the society. It is expressed in the most unequivocal and extensive terms, so as to shut out all reasonable fear or injurious suspicion. The Jesuits who signed it, thereby gave utterance to the feelings of their hearts. For the last century, these bold and dan-

gerous opinions upon king-killing, had, like most of the books which contained them, been consigned to neglect, silence and oblivion. The preachers, the historians, the spiritual writers, the divines of the society, had, through the run of that century, taught publicly, and without evasion, the doctrines diametrically opposite to those pernicious and superannuated opinions.* Thus, for the sake of crying down this celebrated society, they have contaminated the public mind, by awaking from a profound sleep those antiquated opinions, which had been the error of their age, and had passed away with the age itself. Such was the observation made to Louis XV, by the assembly of 1761, in their report upon the principal charges made against the society. We must not here omit to refer to their honourable testimony of the Jesuits' doctrine on the the sacred respect due to sovereigns.† What a triumphant testimony in favour of the accused! How overwhelmning to the accusers! It is the evidence of the first ministers of religion, that is to say, the native protectors of religion, in support of their innocence. It is the voice of the judges of faith, that is to say, the depositaries of sound doctrines, which lifts itself up and resounds from the four corners of France, in vindication of a religious order, strangely calumniated, for having been eminently serviceable to religion and the church.

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* See the 3d volume, p. 599, of *The Answer to the Assertions.* See also the second part of *The Appeal to Reason,* p. 121, &c. where are quoted crowds of writers of the society, who have more strongly and explicitly proscribed and disclaimed the dotrine of regicide.

† See the 8th chapter above, p. 67.

§ II.

Of the Plots and Murders of Kings laid to the charge of the Jesuits..

There is so much absurdity and flat nonsense in the charges of state plots and king-killing, brought against the society, that I blush in undertaking a detailed defence of the ridiculous accusations. What man, of sane intellect, could for a moment believe that the order of St. Ignatius, panegyrized by the learned of every nation, honoured by the successive benevolence of all the potentates of Europe, ever had been that desperate band of ambitious ruffians, with the poignard always in hand, to plunge it in the breast of every prince who would dare to stand in the way of their progress to universal empire? Such, nevertheless, is the exact portrait of the society, drawn by the two Jansenian authors, whom we mentioned in the commencement of this work. Were we to credit their forged pieces of history, and follow the rovings of their wandering fancies, our princes ought to have a greater dread of the Jesuits, than those in the days of St. Louis had of the king-killing ruffians, who, at the whistle of the old man of the mountain, assassinated princes and monarchs in the inmost recesses of their palaces. I readily believe that no man of information can read these impassioned authors, without suspecting the authenticity of the facts they narrate, and setting them down as mere fables; but I lament to remark, that in France, and more especi-

ally during the last and the running century, many weak, vain, and superficial minds exist, who will swear to the *dictum* of any author, provided he systematically hate, abuse, and cry down a religious order. What now so frequent as to meet, in mixed and even select society, young men, without reading or information, rehearsing, with didactic insolence, and in the pride of ton, the most atrocious calumnies, which they had learnt by rote, as composed of the fashionable stuff of the day—ridicule of religion, and hatred of Jesuitism. I have therefore found it of no slight importance, to lay open the naked facts, without the mask or veil of passion; it is a tribute due to truth, and may be an antidote against calumny and slander. The most prominent charges of sedition and murder, brought against the Jesuits, are, their conduct during the troubles of the league in France, the attempts upon the lives of Henry IV, Louis XV, and Joseph I, king of Portugal, the noted gun-powder treason and plot in England, and the poisoning of Clement XIV. But authentic documents, and other irrefragable historic evidence, will enable us to disperse the murky fog, through the medium of which these criminal charges have been magnified, distorted, or concealed, as it suited the turn of the enemies of the society.

Under pretext of preventing the crown of France from devolving upon a prince, who was not of the Catholic religion, the leading men of the kingdom fomented disturbances in the state, with a view of opening the road and working their own way to the throne, or to the highest offices of the state. The true cause of the war of the league, so fatal to

France, was ambition clad in the imposing mantle of religion. In order to fan the flame of war, and excite the people to sedition and revolt, the leaguers artfully exhibited the throne of France, which never had been possessed by error, as then being on the point of becoming sullied by heresy and schism; they represented to them, that if Henry IV should seize the reins of government, these two impure streams, which had already laid waste such a large portion of the kingdom, would speedily involve, in one common ruin, the altars and its ministers, the temples and all religious institutions; that the sectaries would not leave one stone upon another of their ancient religion, which was at once their glory and their happiness; that no longer would the Catholics have the consolation of chanting the praises of their Maker in their churches; no longer, in the holy sacrifice, would the blessed victim be immolated in their presence; but in lieu thereof, would the black and gloomy errors of Calvin spread, like a sable coverlid, over France, and in very few years would put out that brilliant light of the gospel, which has shone throughout France with lustre during the unbroken chain of so many centuries. That religion which comforts and strengthens man in this vale of exile, which feeds his hopes of immortality, which promises never ending bliss in the eternal mansions of the blessed, and constitute, without question, the greatest happiness a nation can possess. Such were the feelings of the nation, upon this precious gift of heaven. Not, indeed, of a nation impious and profligate, which sets up the idolatry of its lustful passions upon the ruin of the holy worship of a liv-

ing God, but of a wise and enlightened people, who place the duties due to the Deity above all earthly obligations, preferring christianity to all the gifts of fortune, which that alone can consecrate in this life, and immortalize the proper use of it in the life to come. It is not then very surprizing, that, in the very moment in which the French people perceived, or were convinced, that they were about to be bereft of their ancient inheritance, they should lose sight of the genuine principles of civil government, and, unmindful, for the moment, of the duties of allegiance to the lawful sovereign, should snatch up arms in defence of their God and their religion. It is not even surprizing, that the clergy, both secular and regular, in this awful brink of danger, should have deceived themselves; that they should have sincerely persuaded themselves, that Henry, by having been brought up in heresy, had forfeited his right to the crown; and that the French people, who had been eminently religious and Catholic, from the baptism of their king Clovis, down to that unhappy epoch, had no obligation to a prince, who was about to force from them what they held most precious and valuable in this life. In this point of view, resistance must have appeared a virtue, and submission a crime. A general ebullition turned every head; and, in that famous procession in the capital, to implore the protection of Heaven on the leaguers, noblemen were mingled with carmen, the secular clergy and the religious orders, persons of every rank and condition, were seen encouraging each other to fight, and sacrifice their lives in the good cause. To expect, in the

general sweep of such a political and religious tornado, that the Jesuits' heads and hearts should alone be unaffected by it; that they should remain calm and steady; that, in the vortex of desperate opinions and dangerous theories, which then agitated every part of the kingdom, to expect the Jesuits should alone be enlightened, and point out and teach the truth, would be to require nothing short of a miracle in their favour: it would be to exact of of them, beyond heroic virtue, absolute inerrancy of opinion and doctrine, which falls not to the lot of man on earth. They must, of course, have been driven, like their neighbours, by the violence of the storm, which shook the very foundations of the throne and state, and blinded mankind to the principles upon which the repose and security of social order rests. If, from the part which they took in the troubles of the league, they can justly be termed seditious plotters against the state, then, from the same cause, (it was the vice of the age) the nobility, the lowest of the people, the magistracy, and every rank of society, must equally submit to be branded by the same ignominious appellation.

It has been alleged, that the Jesuits signalized themselves in this *religious* war, as it has been called, by preaching it up more violently, and with more energy and zeal, than others. That is a false allegation, as appears from the historiographer of Henry IV. "The preachers of the society," says Matthieu, "preached with more regularity, decency, modesty, gravity, and temper, than many others. The Jesuits did not join the famous proces-

sion of the league; and they availed themselves of all their credit to reconcile the king with the holy see. But the Jesuits' enemies push home their objections, and ask, whether it be not matter of notoriety and incontestible, in the history of this civil war, that a Jesuit, by name Mathieu, called himself the runner of the league, in as much as he was constantly on the move, from one town to another, from one kingdom to another, to enlist both Frenchmen and foreigners under the banners of the revolting leaguers. What a strange manner of reasoning is this? Was, then, that religious man more extravagant and enthusiastic than the fanatic Clement, who assassinated Henry III? Was he the whole society, or only an individual member of it? Was it, because he was more active and zealous in forwarding his party than most others, therefore false, generally speaking, that the fathers of the society were, in their sermons, more orderly, modest, grave, and temperate, than the popular preachers? Why then so obstinately persevere in false logic, by concluding from particulars to generals, whenever the question refers to the society, or calls for a decision upon the conduct of a Jesuit? Let us give attention to Henry IVth's answer to the president Harlay: he shall conclude the reflections we ought to make upon this first head of accusation. "To call them," said this great prince, "a society of "factious rebels, because they entered into the "league, which *was the evil of its day,* is unwar- "rantable; they thought they acted rightly, as "many others did, who took an active part in the "misfortunes of those times; they were all wrong,

" and have now come about, since they have seen " that I never had the intentions which they were " taught to ascribe to me. I even think that their " convictions were accompanied with less malignity, " than those of others; and confident I am, that " their consciences, co-operating with the favour I " shew them, will gain over their attachments more " strongly to me, than they ever were for the " league."

Come we now to the attempts upon the life of the *well beloved* prince, Louis XV.

The author of the recent work, intituled, *The Jesuits what they always have been in the policy of States, &c.* says, "In the year 1593, Barriére was " convicted of having resolved to take away the life " of Henry IV; being condemned to death, he ac- " knowledged on the scaffold, that he had been in- " stigated to that crime by father Varade, rector of " the Jesuits." This anecdote, unsupported by any authority whatever, is a falsehood and a forgery. Amongst all the cotemporary writers upon this subject, not one of them notices it as a fact; but many have formally contradicted it. Father Fabre, the oratorian, who continued Fleury's Ecclesiastical history, and whom M. S.* will not hastily blame for his partiality to the society, does not condescend to allude to it. Chaudon, the author of the *Historical Dictionary*, thought proper, in the edition which he published of that work in 1789, to retract whatever he had said, as positive and certain, upon that event in the first editions. Chaudon's

* Silvie.

tenderness throughout his work, for the disciples of pere Quesnel, places him, as well as the historian Fabre, out of the reach of sacrificing truth to a desire of flattering the Jesuits. It is, moreover, matter of notoriety, that father Varade was only put upon his trial about a year after Barriere's crime had been committed. Had that assassin really charged father Varade, on the scaffold, with having instigated him to that murder, who will believe that that very parliament, which had ever been so prominently zealous in persecuting the Jesuits, would have been so tardy in bringing the accused before a criminal court to answer for the charge? In short, of what avail is the testimony of M. S. repeating, in his usual notes of malign calumny, the slanderous forgeries of men, as flagitiously impassioned as himself, when we see Henry IV personally clearing these religious men of the bloody charge, in his answer to president de Harlay. "As to Barriere," said he to the president, "so far was he from hav-"ing confessed to a Jesuit, the real fact is, that it "was from a Jesuit that I was apprised of the in-"tended attempt upon me; and another Jesuit told "him, that he would certainly be damned, if he "took it in hand." One should imagine that such authority ought to outweigh that of M. S. however Jansenian he be. For, though he be an old magistrate, he is not quite so old as that good king, and I beg leave to add, not quite so credible a witness as his majesty, in support of that fact.

This same author, who is constantly raving about Jesuitical plots against their sovereigns, tells us,— "That, on the 27th of December, 1594, there was

" another attempt made on the life of this prince. " This was the principal cause of their having been " expelled from France. They were publicly con- " victed of having pointed the dagger of John Châ- " tel, one of their scholars, against the body of their " king, as it was acknowledged by several avowals " of the criminal, and proved by several written " regicide documents found in their house; for " which they were driven out of the kingdom by a " solemn act of the parliament, and in virtue of " an edict of Henry IV."

It is rather awkward for M. S. always to be at variance with the evidence given by Henry IV, concerning the attempts made upon his own august person. " As to Châtel," says this prince,* " the " torture never could extort from him a shadow of " charge against Varade or any other Jesuit; and, " had there been any such mode, how came you to " spare him? The Jesuit that was apprehended, " was taken up upon another charge, comprised, as " they said, in some printed papers found in his " chamber. And, after all, supposing that one Je- " suit had been guilty of so foul a deed, must all " the apostles suffer for one Judas, or must I an- " swer for all the robberies, and other crimes and " misdemeanors, which have been, or may be, " committed by my soldiers? At that time, God " thought fit to humble and to save me, for which I " give him thanks; he teaches me to forgive all " offences, and have I so done, freely and willingly, " for the love of him."

* Answer to president de Harlay.

The historian Dupleix, a cotemporary writer, traces the invention of this fable up to the hatred which all the huguenots and libertines bore against the Jesuits, and formally denies that these religious were publicly criminated, by the avowals of the guilty, as having directed the steel of Châtel against the person of the sovereign. "Châtel," says this historian, "having been arrested, and put into "the hands of the grand provost, and having been "interrogated as to his crime, declared, that *he* "*had never communicated it to any person whom-*" *soever, except to his own father. Neither proof,* "*nor presumption,* (adds he) could be extracted "*from the mouth of the assassin,* by the violence of "the torture. But to implicate the Jesuits, *as ac-*" *complices in his crime,* commissioners were de-" puted to go and rummage over all the books and "papers of the society, as well in their professed "house at St. Louis, as in their college, where no-" thing was found to criminate the body, but only "to bear upon one individual, namely, father John "Guignard, a native of Chartres."*

Father Fabre, whom we before quoted upon Barriere's crime, has given the following report of the questions put to Châtel. "He was asked, if he "had received any education, and from whom?— "He answered, that he had, at the Jesuits' college "in Paris; that he had studied three years under "father Gueret, and after that *in the schools of* "*law at the university*; that he had seen father 'Gueret on the Friday next preceding the deed;

* Page 163.

" but it was only to consult with him about some un
" natural sins he had committed, and which trou-
" bled his conscience; but that it was from him-
" self alone, that he thought, that by killing the
" king, he should expiate his sins, or should at
" least diminish the punishment which he would
" have to suffer for them. And he steadily persever-
" ed, in the midst of his torture, in protesting, that
" neither father Gueret, nor any other Jesuit, had
" any thing to do with his crime."*

These authorities are, I humbly conceive, sufficient to set by the allegations of the *old magistrate.* And we may confidently conclude, that the Jesuits were not convicted by the avowals of the criminal, of having directed the dagger of Châtel against the person of his sovereign, since, without insisting upon the evidence of Henry IV, and of Dupleix, who declare them innocent, the criminal himself constantly protested, in the midst of his torture, that he never had communicated his design to any other than to his own father, and that no Jesuit ever had encouraged him to commit the crime. It pains me to be obliged repeatedly to charge M. S. of wilfully falsifying this piece of history, but it is a notorious falsehood and an atrocious calumny in him to say, that the Jesuits were publicly convicted of having pointed the steel of Châtel against the person of the king, *from written regicide documents found in their houses.*

They did not find in the houses of the Jesuits, one single regicide writing, which had even a ten-

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* Tom. xxxvi. l. 181. p. 542.

dency to prove them to have been accomplices of the crime of Châtel. True it is, that in the chamber of father Guignard, who was born at Chartres, they did find some writings against the general power of kings, and some libels, partly printed and partly in manuscript, against the memory of Henry III, and Henry IV. "They were," says the continuer of Fleury, "some of those libels, which had been brought "forth during the late troubles, and which had been "kept from a curiosity, not altogether discreet."* France had been overrun with them, and father Guignard, instead of committing them to the flames, had kept them. This was his whole offence; this is the sole charge proved against him, on his trial, on which he was found guilty.

"The person, who was apprehended," said Henry IV, to the president Harlay, in speaking of the crime of Châtel, "was taken up upon another "ground, which they said was discovered in some "of his writings."

"But with reference to father Guignard," adds the historian Fabre,† "after having shewn him the pa-"pers seized in his room, he was instantly found "guilty of high treason, and condemned to death "as a traitor." This sentence of death had been pronounced against him, in execution of some orders of the police for public safety, which were made and published after the taking of Paris, and which forbad, under pain of death and forfeiture of all property, the having in one's possession any writings published by the leaguers against the reigning

* Tom. xxxvi. 1, 181. p. 543. † Ibid, p. 557.

king or against his predecessor. This father, after sentence had been passed upon him, was conducted to the entrance of the cathedral church of Notre Dame, there to crave public pardon of God, the king, and the law. A M. Rapin, one of the parliamentary magistrates, dictated to him the formula of this public reparation. He answered, that he asked pardon of God, for whatever he may have offended him in, but that he never had offended the king. M. Rapin having represented to him, that he had offended his majesty by his writings; he replied, that, even in case they had found any thing amongst his papers against his majesty, that offence would have been pardoned and done away by the general amnesty, since which period he assuredly had neither uttered or written a word against the king. Upon which the magistrate replied: "You have at least "contravened the orders of the police, published af- "ter the reduction of Paris, for burning all sorts of "writings whatsoever."

"Having arrived" says Mr. Chiverni,* chancellor of France, "at the place of execution, he firmly "insisted upon his innocence, and strongly exhort- "ed the people to obey the king, and to pay due "deference to his officers; he even prayed loudly "for his majesty, imploring God to pour down upon "him his divine spirit; he then entreated the people "to pray to God for the Jesuits, and not to give credit "to the false and wicked reports, that were set "afloat against their society; he assured them, that "*they were not king-killers*, as some people gave

* Mémoires d'Etat.

" out, nor were they abettors or encouragers of per-
" sons of that cast; that the Jesuits execrated them,
" and never had either occasioned or approved of
" the death of any king whatever. He expired in
" pronouncing these words. O Lord! receive thy
" servant, and lay not this sin to their charge."

It must be allowed, that this was a hard sentence. How many loyal citizens would have fallen under the like condemnation, of which this Jesuit was the single and selected victim, had as strict a search been made throughout the studies and libraries of all Paris, as was made in the Jesuits' college? The vast number of these publications which have reached us, demonstrates, that the multitude of Frenchmen, who were deserving of the like rigour, was very considerable. Were an ordinance now to issue, ordering, under pain of death, the burning of every revolutionary work that came from the press, from the commencement of our late troubles to the second return of our monarch to the throne of his ancestors, and if a sudden and rigorous visit in private houses should follow the ordinance, to ascertain how strictly the proscriptive edict had been observed, I should greatly fear, that a long train of most loyal and royal citizens, would, like so many fathers Guignard, find their way to the gallows. For is it not to be presumed, that, with a mere view to the preservation of historical monuments and interesting pieces, calculated to depict in strong colouring the ferocity of the republican character and the fury of popular faction, many Frenchmen, devotedly attached to the house of Bourbon, would violate such an ordinance, either as thinking it too severe, or fancying them-

selves unlikely to fall as malefactors under the sword of justice. For my own part, I am free to confess, that I know of a small treatise, intituled, *An Essay on the Trees of Liberty,* written in the style of the most democratic phrenzy, which I should very reluctantly throw into the flames, so lively and true a representation does it exhibit of that fanatical vertigo, which turned the brains and involved so many millions of Frenchmen in its revolutionary vortex. Why then might not father Guignard have kept some few manuscripts, to which he attached a consequence from the interest and importance of their contents, which he wished to retain the memory of, without being implicated in Châtel's plot of assassination? There is as little necessary connexion between that offence, and the crime of murdering Henry IV, as there is between the conspiracy of Brutus against Cæsar, and the plot which, on the 30th of March, brought back Buonaparte to the Thuilleries, for the punishment of France. What then must not be their lust for calumny, who, from such an incident, have the hardihood to accuse a society of twenty thousand of regicide?

As to father Gueret, whom the enemies of the Jesuits presume to be the most guilty of all, from the circumstance of Châtel's having been his scholar for three years, he is equally cleared from the imputation of having taken a share in Châtel's attempt, by the testimony of Henry IV, that of Duplcix, and the answers of the prisoner himself. He was inhumanly thrown into goal, and put to the torture.

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* Hist. Eccl. Tom. xxxvi, l. 181. p. 556.

"But," says father Fabre,* "he acknowledged no-"thing, and as he had no accuser, they were con-"tented to send him into banishment." In the act of parliament for his perpetual banishment, the parliament does not declare him, as they did father Guignard, guilty of high treason. He is described therein only as *a priest, calling himself one of the congregation and society of the name of Jesus, and heretofore schoolmaster of John Châtel.* The whole crime of this man then was, that he had been master to this regicide at the Jesuits' college. How deplorable, in these our days, would not be the fate of all the instructors of youth, if the courts of justice dealt with them, as they formerly did with F. Gueret. Is a master, then, who teaches his scholar latin, answerable for the follies and crimes into which caprice and passion may lead him? Had the rules of this unheard of system of justice been followed up, the parliament ought in consistency to have sent all the professors of the university of Paris into banishment, together with father Gueret; for after Châtel had finished his studies under the Jesuits, he went through a course of law in that university.† With like reason and equity did this sovereign court of parliament send out of the kingdom all the other Jesuits, though nowise implicated in the affair. They condemned them to banishment in the lump, as in cases of popular tumults; they sentenced whole groupes to exile, or to death, without hearing the accused in their defence, or observing any of the ordinary forms of legal process: *nec*

* Hist. Eccl. tom. xxxvi. l. 181. p. 556. † Ibid. p. 542.

servato juris ordine, nec partibus auditis, says the president de Thou, an avowed enemy of the Jesuits, in reporting the words spoken by the president de Harlay to Henry IV.† To palliate this unwarrantable step, Harlay told the king, that the parliament had been induced to take it, from their sense of the danger to which his majesty had been exposed. Had this really been the ground of this unprecedented severity, whence then did it happen, that the whole university of Paris was spared, since Châtel had frequented their courses of law, after having learned latin from the Jesuits? Every man of common sense, who does not wilfully blindfold himself, must evidently see, that, throughout this tragic scene, passion sat upon the bench of justice, and calumny supplied the evidence.

Henry IV expired under the steel of Ravaillac. This wretch constantly declared, both on the rack and on the scaffold where he was executed, that he had no accomplice, and that he never had communicated his design to any person. The opposite parties, which then divided the state, reciprocally imputed the abominable crime to each other. But the unsupported and contradictory cross charges destroy each other, and leave the unfortunate offender exclusively tainted with the whole turpitude of his sacrilegious parricide. At that moment, Henry IV, who had recalled the Jesuits into France, in defiance of the opposition of his parliament, was, of all the crowned heads of Europe, the staunchest friend of the society. None, therefore, but the blind and

† Hist. de Thou, lib. 132.

prejudiced, who wilfully and obstinately reject all evidence, reflection and reasoning, can affect to charge the Jesuits with having embrued their hands in the blood of this illustrious protector of their society. This would be to make them hate themselves; a charge with which they have never been reproached. On the contrary, *self-love* has been the unceasing and heaviest charge against the society. It would be a glaring contradiction on the face of the charges exhibited against the body, and would be instantly rejected with scorn and pity.

With similar barefaced assurance has the crime of Damiens been laid to the account of the society. "Brethren," said Voltaire in writing to Damilaville, "you must perceive, that I have not spared the Je-"suits; but I should raise posterity in their favour, "were I to charge them with a crime, of which "Europe and Damiens himself have acquitted them. "I should be but the contemptible echo of the Jan-"senists, were I to speak otherwise." (*Let. 2d March*, 1763). In fact, the enemies of the fathers, who forced themselves into an artificial necessity of throwing the odium of this attempt upon the society, were reluctantly compelled to wander over the interminable field of conjecture, fiction and falsehood, as long as the genuine report of the trial of Damiens was in common circulation, and spoke so loudly in favour of their innocence. In the different interrogatories which this unfortunate parricide underwent, he contantly declared, without ever contradicting himself, that he had no accomplice. He was asked, whether attempts had not been made to instill into him the doctrine of regicide, and whe-

ther books had not been put into his hands, which contained such doctrine. He said, he had never learnt any thing of the sort, but *that he had been strongly affected by the reports of what the parliament had done, and of the complaints of the people of Paris and the provinces, who were perishing; that he had so long heard this spoken of by the whole world, and publicly in the streets of Paris, that fancying he should thereby render a great service to the state, it determined him to aim the fatal blow.* He added, *that he had no other view, in aiming the unfortunate blow which he made, then to second the trouble and care of the parliament, in upholding religion and the state; that he had conceived the plan ever since the banishment of the parliament; that he hated the Jesuits' manner of thinking, and that if he lived under them, it was only out of policy and to gain his bread.* These answers of Damiens little satisfied the magistrates who put the questions to him; but he persisted in repeating them in other words, and sometimes in much stronger terms than he had first used. To the interrogatory put to him on the 26th of March, he said, in the presence of all his judges, *that if he had never gone into the chambers of the parliament, that would never have happened to him; ... that he had formed his plan after the affair of the parliament; that if he had never put his foot into their courts, that would not have happened to him; that if he had never been in the service of one of these parliament men, that would never have entered into his head; that he should not have so often heard the refusal of the sacraments spoken of,*

which heated his imagination; that the world in general was sufficiently heated; .... that he heard it expressly said in parliament, *that it was a meritorious thing to kill the king.* In the interrogatory put to him, on the 17th of March, *he had already declared, that he had originally conceived his plan at the times when he spent whole nights in attending the debates* (pleading) *in parliament, to hear their conclusions, and when he saw the little regard the king shewed to the remonstrance of his parliament.** Is it not then evident, that the Jesuits had nothing to do with the crime of Damiens? It was in the streets of Paris, and in the courts of parliament, that he conceived and formed the design of cutting off the days of his sovereign; in hearing so much said about the public misery; in listening to seditious speeches, equally tending to break in upon the public tranquillity, and to destroy the respect and submission due to the king's majesty. It was not to forward the views of the society, *he hated the Jesuits' manner of thinking; and, if he lived under them, it was out of policy, and to gain his bread.* He had no other view, than to second the trouble and care of the parliament, in upholding religion and the state. Fathomless, then, is the depth of the malice and hatred of the Jesuits' enemies, in

* See *The original pieces and proceedings on the trial of Damiens*, Paris, at Simon, printer to the parliament, 1757. These authentic pieces were collected and published in the very year of the attempted assassination of Louis XV, by M. Breton, criminal register to the parliament. One may also consult *The Memoirs to serve the Ecclesiastical History of the 18th century.* vol. II. anno. 1757. Whatever there is interesting in them with reference to the Jesuits, as to these authentic pieces, is given in the original words.

availing themselves of the mere circumstance of his having been a menial servant in one of the Jesuits' colleges, in order to insinuate that he had imbibed from them the doctrine of regicide, and that their order were accomplices in his crime. In vain does this profligate wretch deny, that these fathers ever inculcated into him any such doctrines; in vain does he declare, that he hates their way of thinking; that the incentives to his desperate resolve, which he detailed at different times and in different words, are totally foreign from any possible interests of the society, and, in fact, go the whole length of acquitting the society of any suspicion, even of their being implicated in the crime. But, since the life of Louis XV has been attempted, it must follow, of course, that the attempt was made by the Jesuits. First, because they are capable of committing every deed of blood, which every crowned head in any part of the globe, sunk under. Secondly, because, nineteen years before the crime was committed, Damiens was in service in a Jesuits' college, although, since that time, he had been successively in the service of four different counsellors in parliament, where he often heard the refusal of the sacraments spoken of, which very much heated his imagination; and, although he took his execrable determination, not in any college or professed house of the Jesuits, but in the courts of parliament, where he heard seditious and regicidal speeches. What incomparable logic!

The enemies of the Jesuits are never weary of heaping up calumnies, to render them odious in the eyes of all people and of all sovereigns. In 1758,

as the king of Portugal was returning from one of his country residences, several muskets were discharged at his carriage, though he was not wounded. Pombal, the prime minister of this weak king, was all-powerful at his court, and had been for some time seeking a favourable opportunity of driving the Jesuits out of the realm. He immediately, thereupon, ordered three of the fathers to be put into custody; namely, Malagrida, Alexandre, and de Mathos. The first of them was instantly sentenced to death, under pretext of his having advised and sanctioned the murder of Joseph I. According to the ordinances of the bull, *in Cœnâ Domini*, which was published and received throughout Portugal, Malagrida could not be executed without the permission of the pope. Clement XIII, who was intimately convinced both of the partiality of Pombal and of the innocence of the Jesuit, refused his consent. The minister, piqued at this generous act of resistance, sent off the pope's nuncio from Lisbon, and recalled the king's ambassador from Rome. But, fearing lest his first victim should slip through his hands, he delivered father Malagrida over to the tribunal of the inquisition, as a false prophet. This tribunal is said to have refused to find the Jesuit guilty; a special commission was then named, at the head of which the minister's own brother presided, which condemned him to be burnt alive, not for the conspiracy against the king, but for having written false revelations, for having boasted of having performed miracles, and for having taught unsound doctrine. If, in fact, the two writings, produced in

evidence against him, came from his pen, they might prove a mental aberration, that would justify his committal to a madhouse, but not to the fagot and stake, as a false prophet.*

Whoever turns all the circumstances of this matter calmly in his mind, will discover, to demonstration, that the ruling and operative principles, through this whole transaction, were revenge and hatred. All the addresses presented to the Portuguese prelates and to the pope, the books and pamphlets distributed *gratis*, and forced into circulation, to fix the fathers with the murderous attempt upon the life of the king, are dictated by sheer passion. All the reports of the trials and the whole proceedings, exhibit Pombal as a man of violence, cruelty and injustice. Such is the express judgment of the count d'Albon, in his *Discourse upon his history of Portugal.* Notwithstanding Pombal brought to bear some salutary measures of reform in the administration of government, and in many instances, after the disasters of the earthquake in 1756, he procured succour and relief for the sufferers, yet the people were so indignant and irritated at the general cruelty of his conduct, that upon the first rumour of his disgrace, their exultation was frantic and outrageous. In order to keep up some degree of credit, and to give some colour to his violence,

* Grave authors have attributed the fragments of these extravagant writings to a certain father Norbert, a Jansenist, and a renegado capucin friar, known under the assumed name of abbé Platel, who came to Lisbon to offer his services to Pombal, and dispersed about Lisbon an incredible number of libels against the society. See *The Memoirs to serve the Ecclesiastical History of the 18th century*, vol. II. an. 1759, p. 366.

he took care constantly to have some great and powerful men under the rod of his oppression, and the goals filled with some unfortunate victims. "They "publish here," says Linguet in his Political Annals,* "the list of the unfortunate wretches, who "have been swallowed up in the gulph dug by pri- "vate vengeance, which they have the assurance to "call *state prisons*. It amounts on the whole to "about nine thousand persons, of whom not more "than eight hundred can be accounted for. Many "horrid anecdotes are given in minute detail, well "calculated to shew the little value put upon the "lives of individuals, during the twenty years that "Pombal held the fate of all his majesty's sub- "jects, under his uncontrolled use of the royal sig- "net.....All the addresses and appeals to the pub- "lic, (says he p. 155) published at the time and "upon the subject of this unaccountable adventure, "although drawn up and settled, and sanctioned by "the authority of the minister himself, are calcu- "lated to rivet incredulity in the mind. Nay, fur- "ther, they afterwards went the length of formerly "promulging an official inhibition, throughout Por- "tugal, to say any thing for or against (i. e. com- "mending or censuring) that affair, and the expul- "sion of the Jesuits, under pain of death. Does "this bespeak a strong measure of a minister armed "with evidence of facts to support it?†"

Besides all this, Pombal was a professed enemy of

* Tom. 1 p. 326, London, 1779.

† This opinion of Linguet is of the more weight upon this subject, inasmuch as he says, in the very same page of his work, "I am no Jesuit, I do not like the Jesuits; I am persuaded, "and I have strongly expressed my opinion in print, that they

the holy see, and the whole body of the prelacy. He encouraged the propagation of the principles of Febronius, and countenanced the circulation of all irreligious works. M. dell' Annunziata, bishop of Coimbra in Portugal, was thrown into a state prison, *la Junquera,* for having published a circular, in which he forbad the lecture of several improper books. Nine religious men, of the order of St. Augustin, underwent the like fate, for having been charged with supporting their bishop's sentiments. In the heighth of the calumnious imputations against the Jesuits, for carrying on an illicit commerce, the archbishop of Bahia was banished from his see, and bereft of his revenues, for having refused to declare, publicly, that the fathers were engaged in trade, contrary to the spirit of their institute. What degree then of credit can be given to the memoirs printed in Portugal against the Jesuits, on the occasion of this attempt upon the king's life. A minister, with unchecked power, who has a despotic and vindictive turn of mind, has always at his back an host of witnesses and scribblers, to cry down a body, or an individual. The condemnation of father Malagrida proves the violence of Pombal's character, but goes no way in proving him an accomplice in the attempt upon the life of Joseph I; and his being burnt as a false prophet, is, to use the words of Voltaire,* *the very achme of ridicule and absurdity, coupled with an excess of horror.* In a let-

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"ought to be abolished." And he immediately adds, "But "they ought not to be fixed with forged crimes; slander ought "not to be resorted to, in order to bring about their ruin; this "language I shall ever hold."

* See *The Age of Louis XIV,* c. xxxviii, p. 361. Edit. of 1785.

ter, written to the duke de Richelieu, on the 27th of November, 1761, he says, "The inquisition has "discovered the secret of inspiring compassion for "the Jesuits. I had rather be born a negro, than "a Portuguese."*

We have frequently heard of the gunpowder plot in England, and, as often, that it originated with the Jesuits, in order to cut off the king, and drench the land with the blood of the reformed. We feel warranted in ascribing this slanderous imputation against the catholic clergy, and particularly against the Jesuits, to the hatred of the protestants against them; *because* the king, in his speech to parliament on the occasion of it, laid the whole conspiracy to the account of eight or nine desperadoes, amongst whom there were several that were not catholics; *because* the celebrated Arnauld, the author of the *Moral pratique*, and an inexorable enemy of the institute, clears the missionary priests, the greater part of whom were Jesuits, of the charge, which was as false as it was atrocious;† *because*, if some individuals of the society then fell victims to English fanaticism, about thirty priests, regular and secular, either English or foreigners, underwent the same fate; *because*, in a word, the most serious charge in the whole matter was, that the knowledge of the plot had been made known to one person in confession, and that it had not been discovered by him, to whom it had been confessed; as if the violation of this awful seal of secrecy, even in so singu-

* See *General Correspondence*, vol. VI. p. 280.
† See his *Apology for the Catholics*. Liege, 1682.

lar an instance, would not have inspired the faithful with an unsurmountable objection to the wholesome practice of this divine institution; as if, in a word, a breach of that secrecy, which both the human and divine law imposes upon the ministers of reconciliation, would not deprive them of the opportunity of rendering service to their king and country, by availing themselves of their sacramental confidence and authority, in exhorting their penitents to drop, prevent, or counteract, any such wicked design, should they have made it a subject of their confession. Every such advantage must be utterly given up, if the disclosure to the minister of the sacramental tribunal, were to be followed up by an information to the civil magistrate, that would lead the penitent instantly to the scaffold. Does the earnest desire of following the light of truth, dictate this mode of reasoning? Would a person, who dreaded to be handed down to posterity as a base calumniator, thus wanton in criminating a very numerous society of men, whose incontestible services to the public have entitled them to their esteem and gratitude?

The poisoning of Clement XIV is another of the charges very frequently brought against the society. There might in reality be some plausibility in arguing, that the Jesuits, irritated at his conduct towards them, had sacrificed him to their hatred and vengeance. Yet confidently do I assert, that this idle fable was hatched in the brains of only the Jansenists, since father Marzoni, the general of the conventuals, who attended that pope in his last moments, and whose sanction of that calumny the ene-

mies of the society most earnestly solicited, certified, upon oath, in a legal manner, on the 27th of June, 1775, that his holiness never had given him reason to believe, that he thought himself poisoned; and in a regularly authenticated report, made on the 11th of September, 1774, doctor Salicetti, who attended his holiness during his last illness, together with his physician in ordinary, declared, that upon the opening of the body, there appeared no effect whatever, that was not ascribable to some natural cause, and that he attributed the dissolution of his holiness, not to the action of any subtle poison, but to an inveterate poverty of blood, and to a very bad habit of forcing excessive perspiration, both by night and by day.*

What opinion is to be formed of the singular extravagance of the author, whom we have frequently cited and refuted in the course of this chapter, when he gravely asserts, that popes, cardinals and bishops had died very conveniently for the interests of the society? It would be difficult to decide, whether malice or folly predominated in this whimsical observation. Were the Jesuits such adepts in poisoning, as this author will have, then strange is it, that they did not administer the dose to Ganganelli in time to prevent the mischief, instead of waiting till he had destroyed all their colleges, noviciates, and professed houses, throughout Italy and Germany. Why did they not try their hands, so expert in this art, upon Choiseuil, Pombal, Arande, Tannucci, and

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* See *Memoirs to help out the Eccl. History of the 18th Century*. vol. II. an. 1774. p. 600.

other ministers of cabinets, in the moment of their actually discharging the batteries which blew them to atoms? We are lost in admiration of the incredible genius of this author, as eminent for the powers of divination, as were the Jesuits for those of poisoning, when he takes in hand the arduous task of persuading all France, that no pope, cardinal or bishop, could die a natural death, if once he resisted the pretensions or claims of the Jesuits. Can infuriated passion be pushed further? Can we believe the testimony of our senses, in reading such unparalleled fooleries?

To close this long and painful discussion, we confidently conclude, that we have proved, to demonstration, that nothing can be more absurd, that nothing is more contradictory to the truth of history, than this frightful portrait of the society, equally imbrued with the blood of foreign sovereigns as with that of our own native princes. Whoever seeks truth, and stands up for innocence, must be convinced, that the enemies of the institute have, from party spirit and the workings of bad passions, resolved constantly to exhibit the Jesuits to the public as a band of revolutionary regicides of the blackest cast, in order to render them odious to all governments, and execrable to all mankind. With the view of following up this determined system of calumny, so well fitted to their designs, they quote idle fables in lieu of authentic facts, forged anecdotes instead of original documents, and abandon themselves to the most hazardous assumptions and improbable conjectures, for the barbarous gratification of decrying and blackening a body of

virtuous teachers, men of information and science, zealous ministers of the gospel; they adopt, without a shadow of inquiry, all the most scandalous reports; they bring together and connect, with malicious levity, circumstances and events the most desperate from each other; in a word, they permit themselves to be so transported with the worst passions, that they take in hand to write the history of the Jesuits in a predetermined spirit of untruth and barefaced ignorance.

Error is transcient, and, sooner or later, will truth and justice claim their rights. There will be a moment in which the passions become unruffled, and the subsequent calm gives action to cool reason; then will the unbiassed reader be astounded at the extravagant workings of his blinded intellects, in setting up the inept issue of atrocious calumny, against the irrefragable evidence of authenticated facts. Thus is it, that the traduced innocence of one age finds equitable judges in another; and her triumph becomes brilliant, in proportion to the violence with which she had been assailed.

CHAPTER XI.

An Examination of the Charge of Avarice and Ambition.

AMBITION, say the enemies of the society, has ever been its predominant vice. To believe them, the Jesuits went only upon foreign missions, to enrich themselves with the gold and silver of the new world, and to make themselves sovereigns of the barbarous hordes of America. In civilized courts, they possessed themselves of the honourable functions of preaching to and confessing crowned heads, merely to command an influence upon the higher class of society, by possessing the confidence and directing the conduct of kings and princes; and their selfishness *(esprit de corps)* was carried to such an excess, as to render them contemptible and odious to the whole world.

In order to discuss fairly these different heads of accusation, we shall follow the Jesuits through their missions, and their conduct at the court of France, where they exercised the honourable functions of preachers and confessors to our kings; and we shall close the chapter, by some hasty observations upon that selfishness, which they impute to them as so heinous a crime.

§ 1.

Of the Jesuits' Missions.

The missionary zeal of the Jesuits extended over the whole surface of the globe. Not only did they, by means of home or national missions, set again on foot the reign of christian faith and morality, in those civilized states where their institute flourished, but they expatriated themselves into the most remote regions, and, with more than human fortitude, braved all the perils of climate, seas, and barbarism, in order to gain over human beings to society, and christian souls to the gospel.

A Jesuit missioner, with his breviary under his arm, his beads at his girdle, and his crucifix in hand, went forth with assurance to preach the mysteries of christianity amidst tribes of barbarians, that appeared to retain nothing more of the human species, than a terrific countenance of suspicion and menace; to a brutalized herd of creatures, without any moral code beyond the neglected shreds of that light of nature, by which God *enlighteneth every man coming into this world.* At the first sight of a stranger, suddenly presenting himself on the skirts of their inaccessible bogs and forests, these barbarians, naturally timid, suspicious, and cruel towards their enemies, shuddered, as at the approach of treachery and misfortune. Often did they immolate the holy missionary to their gloomy diffidence, or fled to the woods to avoid the sight of the apostolic minister. To tame and humanize them, the

intrepid missionaries resorted often to pious and innocent ingenuity. They offered them presents with a gracious and interesting countenance; sometimes they surprised their ears with the melodious sound of some musical instrument, which tended to melt their ferocious hearts into feelings of respect and confidence. They would, at other times, in a transport of holy zeal, run after the affrighted Indians, stretching out their arms, invoking the name of Jesus, and pointing with their hands up to heaven, as to a delightful country. What a moving spectacle! What an innocent victory! Those uncultivated tracts, after having been long frequented by hordes of human monsters, became, at length, by the prayers and labours of these missionaries, fruitful in prodigies of christian virtue. The barbarous natives, who had been in the savage habit of devouring the bloody flesh of their enemies, successively gathered round the harbinger of peace, with delight and confidence, sensible that he had come from the extremity of the globe for their welfare and salvation. There they listened, with silent respect and admiration, to the oracles of eternal truth; there, in calm *unction,* they dropt the tear of repentant gratitude at the feet of the apostle who instructed them; their minds once opened to the truth, their souls converted to the faith, they earnestly prayed their evangelizers to regenerate them, by pouring the holy water of baptism upon their humble and penitent heads. As to the immortal credit of our saving faith, these fervent neophytes became men, because they had become christians.

The East Indies, the Levant, the empire of

China, the several islands lying in those oriental seas, where idolatry had so long prevailed, became a vast field, in which the disciples of St. Ignatius displayed a zeal truly apostolic, which was crowned with miraculous success. The conquests of St. Francis Xavier, in the East Indies and Japan, are better authenticated than the feats of Alexander, in the whole course of his expedition to the east. We have the most circumstantial details, breathing nothing but truth and candour, which equally attest the heroical virtues and successful efforts of other Jesuits, in their numerous and astonishing missions.

I have not indulged my fancy; I have given but a faint outline, without any glow of the colouring, of which the portrait is susceptible. Who is so ignorant of the history of America, as not to have heard of that magnificent mission of Paraguay, where the cross became the standard, and the gospel the code of law, to three hundred thousand Indians, who lived for a whole century in a perfect christian community, in which brotherhood and friendship produced nothing but the purest virtue, a happy simplicity of manners, and the admirable fruits of the most sublime christianity. Muratori, by a masterly touch of his pencil, has displayed, in the liveliest colours, the happy effects of christianity upon these hordes of savages, by the two significant words prefixed to his history of Paraguay; *Il Christianisimo felice.*

So, in that age of erroneous novelty, when the heresies of Luther and Calvin detached whole provinces and kingdoms from the Catholic church, did God form, in the disciples of St. Ignatius, new con-

querors, before unknown to the world, to repair the ravages made on christianity. The natives of remote islands, and of both the Indies, dried up the tears of the spouse of the Son of God, rent and torn by the hands of her own children. The temples erected in the wilds of America, or built in new christian cities, arose as substitutes to those profaned sanctuaries, which were daily becoming in Europe the resort of schism, and the asylum of revolt. Such is ever the fate of religion; always assailed, and always victorious. At certain periods, fixed in the unfathomable decrees of Heaven, start up, from amidst her ruins, unconquerable heroes, who with no other arms than the cross and the divine word, make her flourish in new places, when she has fallen off in others. It is an immense ocean, agitated by boisterous storms, which gains upon the shores which it washed with its waves, as much as it lost upon the opposite coast. The lamp of the gospel travels over the world, as the light of the sun successively illumines the earth.

Well, who would believe it, unless it were notoriously emblazoned in works circulated in profusion through France? All these miracles of charity and zeal, to perpetuate divine faith and happiness on earth, all these apostolical conquests, the memory of which ought to be engraven in characters of gold in every nation upon earth, are but offences and crimes in the eyes of the enemies of the Jesuits. Under their pens, dipt in gall, are the missionaries of the society suddenly transformed into ambitious profligates, tormented with the lust of rule and power; into covetous misers, devoured with the thirst of

gain, establishing their factories and money-traps throughout the most remote regions of the globe. Thus does a blind and wicked passion blight the sublimest virtues, as if vice were not already redundant amongst men. Montesquieu, Buffon, Haller, and Muratori, passed a very different judgment upon these admirable missions of the Jesuits.

"Paraguay," says the celebrated author of the Spirit of Laws, "furnishes us with a specimen of "those admirable institutions, set on foot in order to "raise people to virtue. Attempts have been made "to make a crime of it in the fathers of the society. "It is glorious for them to have been the first to "give practical demonstration in those countries "how to couple religion with humanity. In re-"pairing the outrages of the Spaniards, they began "to heal one of the most deadly wounds ever in-"flicted on the race of man. A high and lively "sense of whatever is called honourable, and real "zeal for religion, made them undertake these "things, and success attended their efforts."*

"The missions," says M. d'Buffon, "have gained "more subjects amongst the barbarous nations, than "the conquering armies of the princes that sub-"jugated them. Paraguay was only conquered in "this manner. The mildness, the good example, "the charity, and regular conduct of the missiona-"ries, affected the savages, soothed their ferocity, "and gained their confidence, frequently did they "come on their own accord to seek out the teachers "of a law, which rendered men so perfect; they

* Esprit des Loix, ch. vi. p. 40, 41.

" adopted the law, and joined in community. No-
" thing does more credit to religion, than to have
" civilized whole nations, and to have laid the foun-
" dations of an empire upon no other than the arms
" of virtue.*

" The enemies of the society," says M. Haller," (N.B. a *Protestant)* " undervalue its very best in-
" stitutions. They accuse them of boundless am-
" bition, on seeing them forming a species of new
" empire in these remote regions. But what is
" there in nature more admirable and more advan-
" tageous to the cause of humanity, than to bring
" together into community hordes of our fellow-
" creatures, dispersed in the state of uncivilized
" nature throughout the wild forests of America,
" and to draw them out of the state of barbarism,
" which of itself is a state of wretchedness; to pre-
" vent and check their cruel and destructive inter-
" nal dissensions, to enlighten them with the light of
" true religion, and to unite them into a society re-
" presenting the golden age, by the equality of its
" members, and the community of property. This
" is truly legislating for the good of mankind. An
" ambition productive of so much good, is a praise-
" worthy passion. No virtue in this life attains that
" perfection which is wished; our very passions
" disfigures it not, when they tend to secure the
" public welfare.†

" I hesitate not to assert," says Muratori, " that

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* Hist. Naturelle. Discourse upon the Varieties of the Human Species, 3 vol. p. 306, 7.

† *Treatise on several interesting subjects of Politics and Morals*, parag. III. p. 120.

" the Catholic church has no missions in so flourish-
" ing a state as those, which are under the direction
" of the fathers of the society in Paraguay. The
" cross now triumphs throughout that vast tract of
" country, once so very barbarous, and now so
" highly polished. Numerous tribes of people
" now adore the Almighty, and enjoy a state wor-
" thy of being envied, in the possession of the first
" bliss that can be tasted on earth, innocence and
" peace."*

Such irrefragable evidence, and such conclusive reasons, surely furnish a triumphant apology to the missionaries of the society, who displayed their zeal in all parts of the world, whether civilized or barbarous. But, in order to leave no excuse for calumny, we shall minutely examine the charges laid against the society, upon the very score of their missions.

The Jesuits, say their enemies, go to the new world and to remote regions, under pretext of preaching the gospel, but with the real view to enrich themselves by unlawful commerce; for which purpose, they select, for the theatre of their missionary labours, the richest and finest tracts upon the globe. What evidence more conclusive of this lust of gain, they cry out, than the bankruptcy of father Lavallette, who was in correspondence with all the greatest capitalists of Europe? They then resort to the brief of Benedict XIV, which exhorts and enjoins cardinal Saldanha, armed with a commission to reform the society in Portugal, to bring back the

* *Relation of the Missions of Paraguay*, translated from the Italian. Paris. Bordelet.

Jesuits to the doctrines of the gospel and the apostles, and to an edifying regularity of life. They next apply to the very decree of this reforming cardinal, under date of the 15th of May 1758, in which he declares, "that he had found some individuals "among the Jesuits, so obstinately hardened in "their transgressions, that they may be constantly "seen negociating bills and notes like bankers, and "exposing to sale the produce of Asia, America, "and Africa, brought to Europe for their own pro-"fit; as if their colleges, houses, and noviciates, "were mere warehouses, stores, and deposits, of "all foreign articles of commerce, &c." To sum up all, for we must close this shameful and disgusting detail of infamous traffic, they recur to the ordinance of the patriarch of Lisbon, don Joseph Manuel d'Atalaia, who, for these very reasons, interdicted the whole order, throughout his patriarchate, from hearing confessions and preaching.

The march of these enemies of the Jesuits is always regular; their batteries are played off always in an uniform direction. *Some* individuals of the order, who were appointed to administer the funds belonging to some of their colleges in foreign parts, pushed rather too far such branches of trade as were indispenibly necessary for the support of their establishments, and were equally valuable for the advancement both of knowledge and virtue. Father la Vallette, highly blamed by his order, particularly in the apology of the society, is, through necessity, thrown into a correspondence with several bankers (rather capitalists) of Europe, and gives the scandal of an act of bankruptcy: therefore all

Jesuit missionaries, or at least the greater part of them, brave the perils of the seas, waste themselves on the burning sands of the desert, perish by the fagots and arrows of the barbarians, to explore new mines of gold and silver, even in countries which are known to contain no mines; to enrich themselves, by illicit traffic, even in countries totally uncultivated, where nought occurs but impenetrable forests, inaccessible morasses, which are incapable of cultivation, and men more resembling wild beasts than rational creatures, amongst whom they are in constant danger of being put to a violent death. Thus argue the enemies of the society; always drawing general conclusions from particular premises. This is the fair and simple development of the views and principles which have brought forth such prodigies of virtue, and which have extended the empire of the cross by such numbers of evangelical triumphs.

The philosophers, infuriated against the society, as well as the Jansenists, are more dexterous in their attacks, than their zealous coadjutors, though equally unjust.

This commercial speculation appeared to the philosophers so flatly absurd, so wide of probability, that they found it advisable to consider the matter quite in another light. They exhausted their powers in throwing ridicule upon the heroism of martyrdom. We surely admit very readily, say they, that these monks went to the missions to enrich themselves: they were enthusiasts and fanatics; mere victims of christian prejudices. Why, cry they out in arrogant pity, should they flock over to the deserts of America to get their throats cut? At least this flagrant

contradiction of charges, in the enemies of the society, is worthy of observation, and ought to be preserved. It tends to exhibit, in their true colours, the folly and malice of metamorphosing in an instant, to the utter astonishment of the historian and of the enemy of religion, these apostles, burning with a holy desire of gaining over to Christ the souls which had been redeemed by the price of his blood, into avaricious tradesmen devoured with the lust of gain, and ambitious adventurers pining from the thirst of honours, and the love of rule and sovereignty, Although I have barely opened this charge of avarice, I am both weary and ashamed of refuting the pitiful rhapsodies, which have been countenanced by the enemies of the society, and repeated to satiety by ignorance and folly, But, when I cast my eyes upon a father Lizardi, pierced with arrows on the point of a rock; a father Brebœuf (an uncle to the poet of that name) expiring amongst the Iroquois, who tied him to a stake, whilst some of the barbarians burnt his body with red hot sword blades, and others cut up his convulsed and trembling bowels; a father l'Allemand, at a short distance from that hero, gaining also the palm of martyrdom, by undergoing the like torments; a father Garnier, a mere youth, entitling himself to the glory of being associated to this list of martyrs for Christ, in a neighbouring town. When I figure to myself a father Claver, assuming the title of *the negroes' slave*, and devoting forty years of his life, without interruption, at Carthegena, to the service of those brutalized slaves, in the most isolated and infectious hovels, and in the midst of all the miseries of human life, in

the most suffering and degraded state: When I I contemplate, on the deserted coast of the isle of Sancian, the hero of eastern India, Francis Xavier, covered with the glory of having gained innumerable victories, in bringing over thirty kingdoms to the yoke of Christ, dying in the absolute want of all human comfort, throwing forth an ejaculation of zeal for the conversion of the vast empire of China, where he had hoped to have planted the cross of Christ. When I reckon up, with astonishment, eight hundred Jesuit missionaries, enriching with their blood, shed for the faith of Christ, the distant countries which they moistened with the sweat of their evangelical labours; eight thousand apostles of the same order, braving with intrepidity whatever is revolting in nature, perpetual snows, barren rocks, dangerous rivers, burning sands; all that the prejudices of civilized nations hold in disgust and abhorrence, brutalized superstitions, deep rooted vices, ungovernable passions; all that the most ferocious hordes of savages have in them the most terrific, a revolting coarseness of manners, disgusting food, infamous habits, frightful punishments; and all this with a view to give to the world new polished people, living under the shade of the standard of religion, under the protection of a paternal government in peace, innocence and happiness. When, I say, I behold these miracles of civilization and christianity, performed in these remote countries by the children of St. Ignatius, by their trampling under their feet all selfish views and interests, by forgetting every motive of glory and profit, I cannot, I frankly own, suppress my indignation, when I re-

flect, at the same instant, upon the jealousy and hatred which, by insulting common justice, and tearing away the veil of shame, have gone the lengths of endeavouring to convert these champions of the gospel into a company of overreaching traders, and a band of ambitious adventurers, the dread and execration of the human race.

Certain it is, that if we pass in review before our eyes these different missions, we shall not see those rich and inviting countries, to which the fathers resorted in search of ease and luxuries, nor those great thriving merchants, with establishments suited to their opulence, nor those powerful monarchs seated on thrones and giving the law to numberless people. Would to God, that all the oppressors of poor and unfortunate families, who fatten upon the tears of the widow and orphan, would confine themselves to that very avarice, which is found so heinously criminal in the fathers of the society! Our flourishing cities would not then afford the heart rending scenes of extreme wretchedness overwhelmning numerous families, almost in contact with others glutted with luxury and riches. Would to God, that those renowned conquerors, who build their glory upon tombs of undone families, and the disastrous ruin of empires, would direct the fury of their insatiable ambition to those very objects of the apostolic conquests, for which the Jesuits have been reproached and criminated, with so much bitterness and malice; the world would not then have been, for so many centuries, a temple consecrated to the misfortunes of nations, and France, so long a victim to that ambition, which revels in blood and devastation,

would not now so bitterly weep over the loss of her ancient glory, blighted and extinguished by the disastrous crimes of her revolution, and followed up by the oppressions and injustice of consummate tyranny.

To sum up the whole of the evidence in the great cause of the Jesuits, what avails the act of bankruptcy committed by the individual father Lavallette? What the brief of Benedict XIV to cardinal Saldanha? What the decree of that cardinal? And what the conduct of don d'Atalaia, patriarch of Lisbon? The utmost lengths to which these facts and authorities can go, is to fix some individuals of the order with something not correct; but they touch not the honour of the society at large. It must also be remarked, that (save the bankruptcy of father Lavallette) the other inculpations rest solely in allegations; not a tittle of evidence is even offered to support the charges. Their unsuspecting innocence and candour were very likely to be overreached by the craft and wiles of Pombal, even if they wanted nerve to stand up against the frowns and menaces of so cruel and violent a minister. And if any abuses were found to exist, they would be enormously exaggerated by his contrivance, in order to render the institute odious to the faithful and suspected by the ecclesiastical powers.

Such precisely was the opinion of the archbishop of Bahia, who was thrust out of his see, and reduced to live upon alms, for having refused to wound his conscience, by declaring, that the Jesuits had been concerned in illicit commerce. Such also was the opinion of pope Clement XIII. Intimately

convinced, that those proceedings against the society originated in calumny and passion, his holiness refused to countenance them, preferring rather to fall out with the court of Portugal, than to aid in oppressing innocence.

As to Benedict XIV, the illustrious predecessor of Clement XIII, he does not say, in his brief to cardinal Saldanha, what that cardinal puts into his mouth. That learned pontiff, harassed by the importunities of the court of Portugal, consented to commission the cardinal to investigate the charges brought against the society, and to reform any abuses that might be found to exist; but he no where says or suggests, that the Jesuits were guilty; on the contrary, he expresses his warm regard and affection for their order.* His holiness says, that he thought himself bounden to tread in the footsteps of his predecessors in similar cases; namely, by selecting some one from the sacred college, to examine minutely into all the heads of the several charges, and report thereupon to the holy see, in order that his holiness, after mature deliberation, might be enabled to pass a definitive judgment upon the whole matter.† He armed this cardinal prelate with very extensive powers to correct abuses, and to bring back the fathers to a regular mode of life, but evidently under the supposition, that they should have been found to have fallen off from their primitive observance and regularity.‡ It is evident,

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* "*Nos qui societatem præfatam paternis complectimur affectibus.*"

† "Ut postea, maturâ consideratione adhibitâ, quidquid statuendum sit opportunè et saluberrimè decernamus."

‡ "Si fortasse exciderint,....si aliquos in aliquo delin-

then, that the quotations of the ancient magistrate are full of infidelities; for he makes Benedict XIV hold a very different language from that which actually came from the mouth of his holiness.

What that same writer has said about the Jesuits having excited the natives of Paraguay and Uraguay to revolt against the combined armies of Spain and Portugal, carries the most unblushing falsehood on the very face of it. At the very first order from the sovereign, the Jesuits, submitting to the power which comes from God, instantaneously quitted these peaceful tribes, which paid annually to the Spanish monarch a capitation tax of one crown for every individual. They were even so punctiliously observant of, and submissive to, the royal orders, that they concerted measures with the royal commissioners, how to keep effectually from the natives the purport of the royal mandate, lest, upon its coming to their knowledge, they might fly to arms, to prevent its execution, and rise up in revolt against the king of Spain. When, however, the afflicting tidings were made known to the natives, the fathers did all they could to exhort them to submission and obedience; they spoke highly in favour of the secular clergymen, that had been sent from Sancta Cruce to replace them; and they neglected no means whatever to keep them in peace and prevent a general rising. Sensibly touched, however, at the injustice shewn to their benefactors, towards whom they cherished a filial regard, and alarmed at

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quentes repereris, eos juxta canonicas sanctiones punias et castiges." See the Bullarium of Benedict XIV. Venice edit. of 1778, Appendix altera, p. 288.

the dread of being cruelly harrassed by the government, having no confidence in the new missioners, who were alike strangers to their habits and language, these afflicted neophytes retired back into their forests, repeating, with tears in their eyes, these words:—"Since they have deprived us of our "fathers, we had rather return to our woods than "remain in the reductions, where we shall see them "no more." The revolt, in fact, only broke out against the Spaniards, after the departure of the Jesuit missioners, who were all removed quietly, and without bustle, in the course of eight months, from those peaceable and happy countries, where, with the cross of Christ, they had planted all the christian virtues with their sweat and blood.* This is the faithful and simple history of that extraordinary event. The reports sent to Rome, on behalf of the king of Portugal, in which the fathers are roundly charged with being the authors of the revolt, were drawn out by the special orders of Pombal, who spared no pains nor means to render the society odious to the holy see, and infamous in the eyes of the public. But Clement XIII, who, in this whole affair had no other view or motive at heart, than the real interests of religion and truth, defended, with unshaken firmness, to the very last, the innocence and honour of the fathers.

* See a latin work, *De vitâ et moribus tredecim Paraguayorum*, composed by father Joseph Emanuel *Peramas*, one of the fathers banished from Paraguay.

§ II.

Of the Jesuits, who were Preachers and Confessors to the Kings of France.

Is it not evident, continue the enemies of the society, that these fathers are transported by ambition, since they are so intoxicated with their own merits, which keep them unceasingly working at their favourite object of universal monarchy, that we see them worming their ways, seizing with dexterity the confidence of princes, becoming preachers to the great, and confessors to the sovereigns, in order to keep under their direction and rule all classes of society, give the ton and turn to the politics of nations, and establish permanent dominion over private families and whole communities.

That unquestionably is a singular species of clerical ambition, which compels every professed member of a religious order to make a solemn vow, never to solicit any ecclesiastical dignity, on any occasion, nor to accept of it, but under the explicit and formal command of the head of the church. They knew right well how to procure these formal commands from the sovereign pontiff, and their ambition, wrapped up in this veil of affected modesty, was rendered, by that very act, the more effectual. The truth of history cries loudly against this new sort of charge. From the foundation of the society, the children of Ignatius were remarkable for their

disinterestedness and shunning of honours. Father le Jay, one of the first companions of that saint, declined, without disguise, the offer pressed upon him of the episcopal see of Triest. St. Francis of Borgia, who had been viceroy of Catalonia before he became a Jesuit, refused peremptorily the cardinals hat, as well as several bishoprics. Father Canisius, deservedly named the apostle of Germany, constantly resisted the urgent solicitations of the emperor to accept of the archbishopric of Vienna. The annals of the society furnish numerous instances of such refusals of the first honours and dignities in the church; suffice it here to mention the illustrious names of Maldonatus, Coton, Beauveau, Montmorency, Charles of Lorraine, Longueville, la Tremouille, Vaubécourt, Sirmond, and Bourdaloue. These names, renowned for birth, talent, and virtue, would have adorned the first stations of honour and dignity, had they not appeared on the muster-roll of Ignatius. The sole obstacle to numberless other men, of eminent science and virtue, enjoying the first dignities and preferments in the church, was, their being enlisted to fight under the banners of that religious patriarch. With the view to reward, in some instances, supereminent merit, and to introduce into the sacred college, and the body of the prelacy, men capable of rendering eminent services to the cause of religion and truth, true it is, that popes have sometimes found it proper to throw open the gates, which generally shut out the society from the road to ecclesiastical preferment and benefices. But, if strict and impartial regard be had to the vast multitude of celebrated preachers,

learned authors, and other men of exalted merit, who have done honour and credit to the institute, it will be found, that these absolute and temporary commands of the head of the church, from the submission to which, no humility, no disposition to retreat and privacy, no pre-engagement, no pretext, can exempt the individual, have been very rarely resorted to. The sovereign pontiffs, who were deeply penetrated with the consummate wisdom of their holy founder, and who had sanctioned and approved his rules and institute, particularly his enmity to ambition, and the safeguards which he had provided to secure his order against it, as his disciples were to be especially formed and destined to add lustre to the church, by teaching, preaching, and writing, the consequences of which passion might have been so fatal to the spirit and regularity of his order, came but seldom, and that always in cases of delicate importance, to the resolution of ordering one of the society to fill an episcopal see or accept of the cardinal's hat. A man, therefore, of real ambition, who, with a view to make his fortune in the church, should enrol himsel in the society, would manifest the extreme of folly or weakness; if such, therefore, were his disposition, he never surely would have made himself a Jesuit.

But their enemies are cut to the quick, to see them become preachers at court, and confessors to the king.

This charge, I am free to say, is directly levelled against talent and virtue. Their talents brought them into the sacred tribunal, where the ministers of religion tell home truths to crowned heads; and

their eminent virtue, joined to their knowledge and experience, made them depositaries of the inmost secrets of their consciences. Was it because father Bourdaloue was a Jesuit, that therefore Louis XIV should forbid him to utter in his presence the oracles of eternal truth, with that spiritual freedom and independence which immortalize his talent, his mind, and his oratorical compositions? Was it because the fathers la Rue, Segaud, Neuville, and so many other distinguished preachers, brought up under the institute, were Jesuits, that therefore they should be silenced, and the most fertile field of the sacred ministry should be hermetically closed against their talents, powers, and zeal? When the fact, therefore, of a Jesuit's being a preacher at court, is imputed to the society as a crime, what is it but a senseless and impotent invective against talent itself? In like manner am I free to say, that virtue itself is dishonoured and outraged, by the flat stupidity and barefaced malice of placing the direction of the consciences of some princes by members of the society to the general ambition of the order. If father Edmund Auger became the confessor of Henry III, it was neither to his intrigues, nor to his ambition, that he owed that honourable employ, which was at the same time a most onerous function; but to his extensive information, to the sanctity of his life, to the many conversions he had performed by his eloquent preaching, eminently renowned for solidity, zeal, and unction. Father Coton, the director of the consciences both of Henry IV and Louis XIII, gave manifest proofs of his not having been attracted to court by any views of am-

bition. Henry IV, who is on all hands allowed to have been a keen appraiser of personal merit, a good and great king, an able statesman, and a valiant warrior, wished to name him to the archiepiscopal see of Arles, and to have him decorated with the roman purple. But the virtuous unambitious father succeeded in prevailing upon his sovereign to second his wishes to decline the honours and dignity intended for him.

"Coton," says the president Grammond, "lived "a length of time in the unceasing practice of vir- "tue, and, what is rarely found even in religious "men, he was wholly exempt from ambition. Charg- "ed with the direction of his sovereign's conscience, "he never asked a personal favour for himself. He "had attained the pre-eminence of learning, and "became the most eloquent orator during the reign "of Henry IV. This certainly has its value in the "eyes of men; but what is more praiseworthy in "him is, that he lived only for God. He was a "spotless lilly of singular lustre in the midst of "thorns, that is to say, he was a man without spot, "in defiance of the contagion of the court." (Hist. Galliæ, p. 655. ad an. 1626.)

"Those," says Dupleix,* "who were intimately "acquainted with him, can testify, that he was a "perfect religious man, and had as much at heart "the service and prosperity of the king and the "state, as the most loyal subject possibly could. "And indeed his majesty, who yielded to no one in "his kingdom, in discovering and appreciating

* *Histoire de Henri le Grand*, p. 509.

" personal merit, always set a high value upon his " admirable qualities, frequently sent for him to con- " sult, and never passed him without stopping and " conversing with him."

Father Annat, to whom Pascal addressed his two last *Provincial Letters*, certainly was no flatterer, and certainly betrayed no ambition. He lost the favour of that monarch, and was banished from court, for having spoken to him, with evangelical firmness and freedom, of the dangerous ascendency which his majesty's passion for the duchess de la Valliere was then acquiring over him.

According to the testimony of the duke de St. Simon, father la Chaise, another confessor of Louis XIV, was an estimable character, to which even the enemies of the society rendered justice. He thus speaks of him. " Father de la Chaise was a " man of moderate talents, but of a mild character; " he was fair, upright, rational, prudent, amiable " and moderate; a fixed enemy to detraction, vio- " lence and scandal; he had honour, probity, hu- " manity, and benevolence; he was polite, affable, " modest and even respectful; *he was disinterested* " *in every way*, though affectionately attached to " his family; he put a certain value on high birth, " and shewed favour to it, whenever he had occa- " sion; he was careful in making proper choice for " bishops, especially when any state employ was " annexed to the see, and he was fortunate in his " selections, whenever he was not thwarted in his " recommendation; always disposed to retract " whenever he had erred, and ardent to repair the " consequences of his error, he was moreover both

" judicious and cautious. Father la Chaise died " peaceably at five o'clock in the morning. His " two superiors, (father le Tellier, his provincial, " and father Daniel, the rector of the professed " house,) carried to his majesty, at the opening of " his levee on that day, the keys of his cabinet, in " which there were several papers and documents " of moment. The king, whom experience has " inured to losses, received them in presence of all " his court, and said many handsome things of fa- " ther la Chaise, particularly of his goodness of " heart; then, with a gracious smile, he thus ad- " dressed the two fathers: ' " He was, (said his ma- ' " jesty, in the hearing of all the courtiers,) so very ' " good hearted, that I often reproached him with it. ' " His constant reply was; It is not I, who am ' " good-hearted, it is you who are hard-hearted," '

" Father la Chaise, by many good deeds in his " life time, suppressed and defeated many anony- " mous publications and plots against the characters " of individuals; he rendered many services to per- " sons who were ignorant of their benefactor, and " never hurt any one, but in his own defence; and " he was indeed universally regretted. Even the " enemies of the society were forced to do him jus- " tice, and admit that his conduct answered in every " particular his high birth, and that he was, in fact, " peculiarly fitted for the place he filled."

Of all the Jesuits that ever were confessors to the kings of France, father le Tellier has been the most roughly handled by the enemies of the society. He had ever made head, with zeal and energy, against the progress of Jansenism; and the ruin of Port-

Royal, which, it is said, he had brought to bear, was, in the eyes of the party, a crime never to be forgiven. After the death of Louis XIV, the spirit of the court was totally changed. In order to put out the differences about Jansenism, resort was had to conciliatory measures, which tended only to aggravate the evil, in lieu of curing it. Father le Tellier, who had always been prominently forward in supporting the cause of genuine catholicity, was exiled, first to Amiens, then to la Flèche, where he died in 1719.

To this father's unabating zeal in combating Jansenism, is to be attributed the invention of the fabulous enrolment of Louis XIV under the banners of St. Ignatius, and of several such other fooleries, given out by the party against the society. Because that father was a professed and declared enemy of Jansenism and of Quesnel, and because he exerted all the interest he could command, to discredit and weaken him, he was therefore an ambitious intriguer; and thus, under these odious colours, was his character represented in all the pamphlets and libels of the day, by the enemies of the society. Hence the foul charge of unlimited ambition, which forces itself into the palaces of princes, there inveigles itself into their confidence, and disguising itself under the cloak of truth and virtue, usurps and monopolizes the government and rule of all sovereigns, all states, all families, and all consciences.

Ridiculous charge! Flat pitiful calumny! Ambition confines not its views to sterile marks of affection and esteem: where then are the rich abbeys,

which father le Tellier had procured? Where the bishoprics which were offered to him, and which he accepted of? Is then a zealous effort to preserve the ancient doctrine of the church against the attacks of dangerous novelists, who put to hazard the security both of church and state, to be confounded with the base crimes of a devouring ambition? Is it, because a powerful prince condescends to honour a simple religious man with his esteem and confidence, that therefore such prince must thenceforth, on a sudden, become an insensible and inactive inspector of the disasters of the church? What is there in common between the zeal which preserves the purity of christian faith, which protects the tranquillity of the public weal, and this restless and dangerous ambition, which insults, debases, and calumniates, for the sake of tyrannizing over the consciences, and degrading the condition, of our fellow creatures?

§ III.

Of the Spirit of Selfishness imputed to the Jesuits.

Nothing then can be more unfounded, more unjust, than this senseless reproach of ambition, pressed upon the society with a treacherous pertinacity. The Jesuits undoubtedly did support the honour of their institute with distinguished talents, by brilliant services, by heroic virtues; but this noble emulation, this high-minded spirit of the order (we want a term to express what the French mean by *esprit de corps*), is not to be confounded with that dangerous ambition, which upsets the throne, and brings

ruin on the people; nor with that low-minded jealousy, which views with a gangrened evil eye, as a personal degradation, whatever honours and profit are bestowed on the most eminent institutions. Such emulation is far from deserving that ignominious treatment; it ought to be esteemed, and is worthy of the highest praise; for not only does it mainly contribute to place virtue in its proper exalted station in the state, but it lends a powerful aid and influence to promote the progress of learning, and the fine arts. All corporate bodies, the magistracy, the universities, the academies, the religious orders, are all more or less influenced to forward their respective objects of virtue and science, by the honourable prospect of this creditable glory. When then the Jesuits are dragged with such bitter cruelty before the tribunal of the public, as ambitious intriguers, because they have been honoured with the favour of monarchs, what is it but to condemn, in them, the very thing they commend in other religious bodies? They blame, with fool hardihood, the princes who were the friends of virtue and protectors of all scientific institutions, because they were able to discern merit and talent, and honour, and reward virtue, wherever it existed. This censure, sharpened by the rooted hatred to the body, is the more contemptible, as its direct object is to blight the heroic virtues, which christianity brings forth as the fruit of religion, by affecting a forced undervaluing of the most wonderful conquests, which can enrich the annals of a people, who make the triumphs of the gospel their highest national ambition, keeping the steps of

monarchs in the paths of virtue, civilizing the savage, and imparting happiness to all mankind.

If it be still absolutely insisted upon, that the Jesuits entertain too lofty ideas of their own institute, and that they have pushed this selfishness *(esprit de corps)* to an insufferable excess, my answer is, that we must judge of these institutions as we do of human individuals. He is not the best who is free from all fault; but he who is subject to the fewest: *optimus ille qui minimis urgetur.* A state of perfection, which defies all censure, is the privilege of the blessed spirits in heaven, not the lot of man upon earth. No fair estimate can be formed of any human institution, by casting up only its imperfections and inconveniences, without any attention to its advantages and services. Each must be placed carefully in the opposite scale, nor ought any judgment to be formed till the exact balance be strucken. Let the society be thus impartially judged, and it will be impossible to deny, that its existence, though drenched with persecution and crosses, has, under Providence, been a marked favour to the states which have countenanced them.

"What," says M. Chateaubriand,* "can they "reproach the Jesuits with? Is it a pretended am- "bition, which in them was but zeal. *It will be "glorious,* said Montesquieu, *to govern men by "making them happy.* Weigh correctly the mass "of good performed by the Jesuits; bring to your "recollection the celebrated writers which that "body has furnished in France, and all the others

* Génie du Christianisme, 4 part. lib. vi. ch 5.

" formed in their schools; place under your consi-
" deration those entire kingdoms which have be-
" come united or connected with us in commercial
" relations, through their abilities, labours and
" blood; pass in review before your eyes their mira-
" culous missions of Canada, of Paraguay, of China,
" &c., and you will find, that the very little harm
" which the philosophists accuse them of, will not,
" for a single moment, outbalance the services they
" have rendered society at large."

CHAPTER XII.

An Examination of the Charge of loose Morality.

MANKIND being generally more disposed to laugh than to reason, in every war of opinion, ridicule has ever been found a more efficient weapon than argument. The public gives greedy credit to every word of an author who is gifted with the seductive, though dangerous, talent of amusing at the expence of a body or an individual. So, of all the tribe of incredulity of the last century that have defiled their pens in decrying christianity, Voltaire has been the most fatally mischievous. Possessed of a versatile, ingenious, and well furnished mind, he dealt out, with dexterity and profusion, new and ridiculous sarcasms upon the books of holy writ, upon the whole order of priesthood, upon monastic institutions, and upon all the most sacred and august objects of

religion. Amidst all the writers who undertook the defence of religion against the assaults of the philosopher of Ferney, the most distinguished and successful was the abbé Guénée, of the academy of Inscriptions and Fine Arts. He possessed the happy and rare talent of unmasking falsehood and impiety, by seasoning real humour with depth of knowledge, and tempering profound reasoning with the most cutting irony, which made the deeper impression, as it was attended with the good breeding of a dignified gentleman.

Pascal resorted to this delusive and weak weapon of the human mind, when he undertook to defend Jansenism, which had been strucken with the thunderbolts of the church, by turning the Jesuits into contempt and ridicule. In his famous *Provincial Letters,* he pretended, that the ruling spirit of the society was ambition to extend the order; that, with the view of universal dominion over the whole world, they had adopted a new code of morality, fitted to every taste and every passion. "If," says he, "a person apply to them, bent on restoring to "the rightful owner some ill-gotten property, do "not imagine that they will dissuade him from his "good resolve; they will commend and strengthen "him in his pious determination. But let another "person come to them, who wishes to get absolu-"tion without restoration of the ill-gotten property, "things must go very hard with them indeed, if "they do not strike out some means or other of "evading restitution, the responsibility of which "they take upon themselves. By these means they "make every one their friend, and defend them-

" selves against all their enemies." Nay, he goes far beyond this extravagance; in the body of his work, he supposes that there is an actual conspiracy of all the superiors of the order, with all the directors (confessors) and teachers of divinity of the society, to put down the morality of the gospel, in order to attain their universal dominion over all mankind. With a view to give some air of probability to this wild hypothesis, which of itself could but inspire diffidence and contempt, he quotes the loose opinions of several Jesuit divines, whence he concludes, that these good fathers, in external appearances so zealous for the glory of God, authorize, according to time and circumstances, robbery, murder, adultery, idolatry, and every species of crime. He maintains, that these opinions were not the private sentiments of the particular divines who wrote them, but those of the whole order, inasmuch as no individual of the order could publish any thing concerning morality, without the leave and approbation of the superiors of the order. In a word, in the doctrine of *probable opinion,* a doctrine at that time of day much in vogue with theologians of several schools, he lays the grounds and secret of that loose infernal policy, which went in a direct line, and immediate manner, to annihilate the whole morality of the gospel. And, because this was a serious and awful subject, likely to disgust and shock the greater part of his readers, he took special pains to season it with humour, wit, and pleasantry, and render it attractive by the grace of style and eloquence of diction. He inspired all his light and superficial readers with great confidence and assurance, by affect-

ing to quote fully and faithfully whatever passages he cited from Jesuit theologians, whom he brought successively on the scene, to play their comic part in his farce. To these arts and stratagems did these *Provinciales* owe their brilliant success.

Nothing could have been more artful than Pascal's conduct, under the embarrassing circumstances in which Jansenism was at that time placed. Pope Innocent X had condemned the five famous propositions of Jansenius; the clergy of France had addressed letters of congratulation and thanks for it to his holiness; the king had ordered the publication and execution of the bull which blasted this novelty; the evasive distinction between *right and fact* had been rejected by the assembly of the clergy, as a vain subtlety, tending to elude the solemn judgments of the church in matter of doctrine; Arnauld had been expelled the Sorbonne, and the name of this patriarch of Jansenism no longer graced the list of doctors of theology. Thus the party, instead of enlisting fresh recruits, daily fell off in credit and favour. It seemed almost crushed under the anathema of the church, writhing in convulsive agonies, and faintly making head against both the spiritual and temporal power.

By amusing his readers at the expense of the Jesuits, by representing these religious men as the corrupters of morals, Pascal weakened the most powerful and terrible enemy the Jansenists had; he thereby *gave a change* to the public mind, which, forgetting the errors of Jansenism, now bent their thoughts upon the morality which they were taught to believe had been attempted to be under-

mined from its very foundations; and this played off the very men who had been solemnly declared enemies to the catholic faith, as the intrepid defenders of the morality of the gospel. He imitated the conduct of an experienced general besieging a town, who, in order to draw off the enemy's force, makes a false attack, that he may with the more effect fall upon the weak part.

It is not possible, in one short chapter of this essay, to refute minutely and in detail every one of the charges of loose morality, which Pascal has laid to the account of the society. Father Daniel has detected the falsity of them, and the want of candour and truth in the author, with great solidity and clearness, in his *Conversations between Cleander and Eudoxus*. I shall confine myself to three tasks. 1. To shew, that the pretended conspiracy between the superiors and the directors and theologians of the society, having for its end the aggrandizement of the order, at the expense of the morality of the gospel, is a downright chimera. 2. That his proofs to substantiate that conspiracy are ridiculous in the extreme. 3. That these *Provincial Letters* carry, upon their very face, both ignorance and malice.

§ 1.

Nothing can be more chimerical than this conspiracy of the superiors of the Jesuits with the directors and theologians of their order, having in view the aggrandizement of their order, at the expense of the morality of the gospel.

According to Pascal, this conspiracy had subsist-

ed for a long time before the period at which he wrote, since he quotes, as evidence of its existence, a great number of Jesuit divines, who had been dead and buried long before Pascal came into life.

Is it possible that such a conspiracy should have existed for such a length of time, have been carried into execution for nearly an entire century, without having been discovered by, or denounced unto, either the spiritual or temporal power? I say nothing of princes, popes, bishops, and men of literature. Of so many millions of men, whose eyes were constantly set upon the society, and who were constantly watching its conduct, there were four particular descriptions of persons, who could not have failed to see, and who would not have failed to discover, this chimerical conspiracy, had it ever existed. The Protestants, the novices of the institute, the virtuous members of the society, and those Jesuits who had been expelled or dismissed from the order.

1. As to the Protestants.—It is matter of notoriety, that they have ever had a rooted hatred of the Jesuits, and have always endeavoured to let them down in the eyes of the prince and people. No one is ignorant of the singular and base calumnies by which they have attempted the total ruin of the order, which induced Leibnitz to qualify them, without disguise, with the epithets *impertinent and ridiculous*. It is well known, that amongst these scandalous calumnies, was the imputation of teaching king-killing doctrine, and of hatching plots and conspiracies against states. How then did it happen, that this particular conspiracy should

have remained unknown to such clear sighted men, who were under the influence of so much passion? When a secret is confided to ten persons, there is more danger of its being betrayed and discovered by revelation or inconsiderateness, to which robbers by profession and the most hardened murderers are liable; and shall it be insisted upon, that during the run of a whole century, the secret of this fatal conspiracy of the Jesuits, should never have reached the ears of the Protestants; notwithstanding it be said to have been confided to fifteen or twenty thousand religious men, who communicated it to one another, or who received it immediately from their superiors! If this conspiracy be not a chimera, the region of chimeras exists no more, and every thing is real throughout the domains of fancy and absurdity.

2. Amongst the novices, who postulated their admission into the society, must have been reckoned several young men of high respectability, who sought to ensure their eternal salvation, and attain virtue, in the order of St. Ignatius. To obtain this blessing, some renounced all the pleasures of life, others the advantages of fortune, and others debarred themselves from all the prospects of honour, dignity, and profit, which their talents or birth held out to them. At all events, these novices generally led a decent and christian life in the world, and were not flagitious and hardened sinners before they enlisted under the banners of the institute. When they had once entered their noviciate, they heard no other discourses than of virtue and the evangelical counsels, of a glowing zeal for one's

own perfection, for the glory of God, and the salvation of souls. And at the very moment, when the fatal secret was communicated to them, that not one of them should have shuddered with horror and indignation, or if they did so shudder, that they carefully deposited the secret in their hearts; and they were not shocked and disgusted with a religious order, which, under the pretence of making the gospel triumph among men, entered into an absolute and universal conspiracy against the maxims of the gospel, with a view to attain universal dominion; and they did not quit, with horror and disgust, this seat of ambition and hypocrisy, where they had fondly anticipated the practice of the evangelical virtues in an heroic degree; and they did not communicate to a living soul their discoveries, but entirely suppressed their astonishment and indignation! Can there be discovered in all this, I do not say, a phantom of probability, but the faintest shade of possibility?

3. By the undisguised avowal of the mortal enemies of the Jesuits, there have at all times existed amongst them men of enlightened minds and virtuous conduct. How could they have been accomplices with their brethren, in the combination to do away the whole morality of the gospel? Even should they not have pushed their depravity to this excess, still, how could they have so far betrayed the cause of truth, as they must have done, by keeping inviolate the secret of this irreligious conspiracy? Was there then to be found, amongst these men of virtue, no love of truth, no upright-

ness, no honour, no zeal for the public good, no firmness to bring to light this impious combination? Was the want and possession of virtue one and the same thing with these estimable and revered characters? What incoherency! What absurdity!

4. Many individuals have been dismissed from the body of the society, from a secret inclination to heresy, or to overbold and hazardous opinions; others, from a want of sufficient talent to perform the necessary and ordinary functions of the order, or from scandal given by the incorrectness of their conduct. Yet not one of all these, dismissed from the body on the score of incapacity or scandal, has, for the space of a century, thought fit to reveal this unchristian conspiracy. They must then have remained ignorant of it, although constantly surrounded by these Jesuitical conspirators, or, if they knew it, they never yielded to the first motions of revenge, by justifying their quitting the order, in revealing to the public the horrible combination that prevailed throughout it. Is this the ordinary method of acting, when men feel their self-love wounded, and their honour compromised? Do they not, on the contrary, seize every opportunity to allay the suspicions of the public which are injurious to themselves? Far from suppressing justificative truths, do they not too frequently resort to falsehoods and downright calumnies? The admission of such a paradox, would be a renunciation of all knowledge and experience of the human heart. Pascal, than whom no man better knew the human

heart, could not have believed in this chimerical plot. He intended to calumniate, aimed at amusing, but never thought of reasoning.

True it is, that Pascal, in some part of his *Provincial Letters,* in order to give credit to his favourite hypothesis, has said that the extinguishment of the whole morality of the gospel, was not the direct object of the society; that the Jesuits being persuaded that it was useful and even necessary for the good of religion, that they should possess the ascendency over the whole world, in directing their consciences, they had adopted a pliable and commodious system of morality, which they bent with facility to every taste, every circumstance and every passion. But he could not believe that the Jesuits seriously meant to forward the cause of religion, by tearing up the gospel, and encouraging all the vices and crimes which the gospel condemns. Does he not, on every occasion, play off their ambition as the characteristic master passion of the order, and bring upon the stage this conspiracy of the superiors, divines, and directors of the order, as the means of effectuating their criminal ambition?

It is evident, that Pascal charges the Jesuits with having formed a plot, the prime end of which was to govern the world, by directing their consciences; and the efficient means of attaining that end was, to do away and extinguish for ever the rules and maxims of the gospel. We have demonstrated that nothing can be in nature *more chimerical.*

§ II.

The proofs which Pascal brings forward, in aid of his discovery, are absurd even to contempt; they amount to four; namely, the difference of theological opinions upon morals amongst Jesuit divines; the great number of authors in the society who have taught lax morality; the approbation of superiors, with which the books containing this doctrine are sanctioned; and the doctrine of probable opinion, in which he discovers the foundation and whole secret of their political ambition.

Before I enter into the discussion of these various heads of accusation, I shall barely observe, that were they even admitted to be true and incontestible, they would go no way in proving the existence of the plot in question. From such an admission, no other result would follow, than that the generality of the Jesuit divines maintained a relax system of morality. But wide indeed is the difference between that fact, were it true, and which, for the sake of the argument, I admit for the moment, and the reality of such concerted combination between the superiors, divines and directors of the society, with a view to govern all consciences, by giving unbridled sway to the worst of passions. One might surely exist without the other; consequently Pascal would prove nothing to substantiate the plot, were all the evidence admitted that he has thought proper to bring forward on the occasion. I might here take my leave of him with this single observation, which reduces to atoms the vast machine constructed by

this able geometrician, to crush the whole society of Jesus. But, without giving into long and harassing detail, I shall easily take to pieces the scaffolding of reasons which he has erected to support his system.

1. From the variety of opinions of the Jesuit divines in casuistry, Pascal assumes a right to conclude, that the society has sold the gospel to their criminal ambition of governing all consciences; as if this discrepancy of opinion were not an effect of the natural imperfection of the human mind, which, in the thorny paths of morality, sometimes inclines to rigour and severity, at others to moderation and allowances. As if this diversity of opinion and sentiments were peculiar to the society, whilst it exists in other religious bodies, such as the Dominicans, Franciscans, &c. in all the universities, where theological faculties exist, and in every school of the Catholic world, where ecclesiastical knowledge is in any way cultivated. As if different and very opposite opinions were not to be met with in books written upon the municipal and general law of nations, upon physical and experimental philosophy, and upon other heads of science, which often run into systems so very widely diverging from each other, as to launch out into the extremity of absurdity and folly; in a word, as if the blameable ramblings of some bold adventurers in science, who scruple not to diverge from the way of reason and truth, in order to hazard, without light or guide, the unknown regions of darkness, became the unexpiable crime of a whole society.

2. It is notoriously false, that the Jesuit divines

have generally maintained loose morality; that they have countenanced theft, murder, adultery, idolatry, and all other crimes. Some authors of the society, have, it is true, upon these different heads, advanced certain propositions that are blameable, and even censurable; but these very propositions have been rejected, and combated by far the greater part of the divines of the society, who have treated those heads of morality or casuistry. Father Daniel in his *Entretiens de Cleande et Eudoxe,* offered a challenge to the Jansenists, which they declined: he undertook to produce, for every loose opinion maintained by any one Jesuit, at least ten or twenty opinions of Jesuits who maintained the contrary doctrine.

3. The approbation of the general of the order, with which every publication by any of his subjects ought to be sanctioned, goes no way whatever in proving and fixing the society with Pascal's horrid plot; otherwise, not only all the Jesuits throughout the world, but ever other religious order, will be brought in as accomplices in the conspiracy of putting down the gospel, in order to attain this universal dominion over all consciences. It was a common rule in every one of them, not to publish any book without the approbation of their superiors; and there does not exist a single religious order of any note in the church, of which some of their subjects have not published books containing propositions of lax morality, under the sanction of their superior's license. If Pascal's argument proved what it imports he wished and intended to prove, he must consistently make the Benedictins, the Dominicans,

the Franciscans, the Carmelites, the Barnabites, the Carthusians, and all the religious orders that ever existed, and that are now dispersed throughout the Catholic world, so many conspirators against the prevalence and existence of the gospel, as standing in the way of each of their attaining this universal monarchy. Does not the imagination shudder at the very thought of so vast a band of concerted conspirators? Better then to exempt at once the Jesuits of the guilt of this plot, which Pascal pretends to have discovered, than thus cover the earth with the infection of so many antichristian combinations and conspiracies. For my part, I am far better pleased to contemplate in most of the houses of these religious, and even of the Jesuits, laboratories of science and securities for virtue, than to fancy nothing in them, but such foul and wicked plotters and conspirators. In this, I am fully confident, I am sanctioned by the truth of history in maintaining the reality, whilst Pascal, far above me in the mathematics, in natural philosophy, in general literature, is grossly unfair and untrue in judgment as a critic.

But what avails then, exclaim the enemies of the society, this approbation of superiors, blazoned in the title-pages of the works containing these scandalous and abominable propositions? Is it not to be considered as an authentic and evident proof, that the doctrine contained in the approved book is believed in, maintained, and taught by the society? To this I answer, 1. The greater part of these propositions, which the enemies of the Jesuits call scandalous and abominable, are no where to be found in any work of a Jesuit. Father Daniel has de-

monstrated, that Pascal has falsified and mutilated the text of their works, in order to put into their mouths what they never said. Even before he had published his *Entretiens* (Conversations), Pascal having been taxed with unfairness and incorrectness, in quotation, by some Jesuit writers, very awkwardly defended himself by saying, that he worked upon quotations furnished by his friends, without verifying them with the originals. 2. The superiors of the society have formally disavowed the doctrine maintained by some, but very few, that could with any reason or pretext be termed scandalous and abominable. Thus, for instance, in the year 1610, father Aquaviva forbad any of his subjects to maintain the horrible doctrine of king-killing. In the chapter upon that article, we gave the decree of that famous general of their order. Mutio Vitelleschi, his successor, renewed this inhibition, and, in the year 1617, addressed to the whole society a decree, which prevented the abuses of the doctrine of probable opinion, and checked the run of some lax doctrines, which then were generally maintained in Catholic schools, under the shade of that new doctrine of *probable opinion*. "It is to be feared," says he, in this decree, "that some opinions, rather "too indulgently maintained by some members of "the society, especially in point of morality, should "not only tend to the destruction of the society, but "should produce incalculable mischief to the whole "church. Let the greatest caution be had, that "those who teach and write do not, in making choice "of opinions, make use of or apply the following "rules: *One may safely hold such an opinion*;

"*that is probable: there are authors of that* "*opinion;* but let them adopt such as are the most "sure, that are maintained by authors of the most "grave authority, and of the highest repute, such "as are most congenial with correct morals, that "are calculated to improve the soul and cherish "piety, and not such as have the contrary tendency "to destroy and overset it."

In France, the superiors of the society presented to the parliament of Paris, on the 5th of December, 1757, a formal disavowal of the work of father Busembaum, and of his commentator father La Croix. The *Sommes des Pechès* of father Bauny, and the *Apologie des Casuistes* of father Pirot, were productions cried down, and despised by the Jesuits. The blameable wanderings and extravagancies, in casuistry or moral divinity, of some few Jesuits, fall upon the individual authors, not upon the society at large.

3. The general of the order was not conversant with all languages, to be able to read the books that were published by his subjects in different parts of the world; and had he indeed been master of them all, the life of one man, even if wholly devoted to the task, would never have sufficed to read through all the publications made by the different writers of the order; and how much less could that man do it, whose time was wholly engrossed by the labours and correspondence incidental to so vast an administration, as was that of a society so numerous, so dispersed, and so constituted?—He threw the revision of books on the provincials of the different nations; and the provincial, whose time was necessa-

rily taken up in consultations, in correspondence, in receiving visits, and making visitations, entrusted this office to three or four divines of the society. It most frequently turned out, that the superior of the order was ignorant that a work had come before the public, from the pen of one his subjects, till the moment in which the enemies of the institute sounded the alarm, by the cry of loose morals, scandal, and inversion of the gospel. Under the sanction of what principle of justice do these enemies of the institute fix the whole body with the lax opinions of some very few individuals? This assuming logic leads to the most hideous calumny, which evidently is not sanctioned by the gospel. In a word, the approbation of a book is never supposed to go specifically to every proposition contained in it. When a theological work, which contains no heresy; when the morality, which it inculcates, is generally good and supported upon true principles, a censor or reviser of the book, be he of whatever order, or of whatever university, he may, refuses not his approbation, although the work contain several propositions which are not true in moral theology, and have really a tendency to relax morality, on certain points, and under certain circumstances. St. Francis de Sales recommended the book of Lessius, *de Justitiâ et Jure*, as a *most useful work to solve and clear up doubts upon this important subject.* The illustrious Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, in his synodal ordinances for 1691, recommended the theological works of Azor to the lecture of the clergy of his diocese: yet each of these divines have hazarded opinions in casuistry,

which do not pass current with the more strict authors, of which Pascal has availed himself, by unfair amplification and distorted caricatures, in his usual style, to excite his readers to laughter at the costs of the Jesuits. That renowned prelate of the Gallican church recommended also the work of father Tolet, intituled *The Institution of Priests,* in his ordinances; as it also was in the charge of Godeau, bishop of Vence, in 1644, p. 44; in that of Vialart, bishop of Chalons-sur-Marne, in 1655, p. 221; in that of the bishop of Agen, in 1673, p. 36; in that of cardinal le Camus in 1690, p. 42. Are we to imagine that these bishops, who were never famed for their partiality for the society, and whose authorities have been frequently quoted against the Jesuits, approved of all the opinions of Tolet upon homicide and murder? Even doctor Dupin admits the theology of F. Martin Becanus *to be one of the most luminous and methodical books ever given to the public.* Has he, therefore, approved of every opinion of that divine, which are brought so prominently forward, with those of Tolet, Azor and Lessius, in the comic scenes of the *Provincial Letters*? The censors of the Sorbonne have approved many theological works, which contain some opinions of rather lax morality; have they therefore commended, praised, and sanctioned those propositions specifically? And are those opinions to be deemed the genuine doctrine of that famous faculty of theology? In short, the universal church approves and recommends the reading of the works of many holy fathers, and other writers whom it places amongst its doctors; yet, in several of those

works, are there contained heretical propositions, which, to speak truly, were, at the time, free doctrines of the schools, but which afterwards became heretical, by the subsequent condemnation of the universal church. Do the popes, then, and bishops, undertake to warrant the truth of these errors, which they prescribe and anathematize? Unquestionably not. There would be as much malice and impiety, as folly and falsehood, in the assertion. When, therefore, Pascal, actuated by his hatred of the Jesuits, attempts to fix the whole society with the lax doctrine of some individuals of it, upon the score of the license of superiors, he displays a ridiculous paradox to demonstrate the reality of a chimera. He brings, as a resistless proof of the conspiracy of the Jesuits against the morality of the gospel, a false principle, which, were it true, would convict the whole church of Christ of heresy; and impeach not only the order of St. Ignatius, but the Sorbonne, and other religious orders and universities, who exercise the right of censuring books. So that I conclude, that if, at a certain period of his life, his disturbed imagination represented constantly precipices under his feet, at the time he was writing his *Provincial Letters*, his intellects must have been led astray by some vertigenous affections of the brain, that represented to him nothing but plots and conspirators in every house of the Jesuits.

4. Pascal pretends, that the doctrine of *probable opinion* is an invention of the society; and upon that opinion does he rest the entire foundation and secret of their ambitious policy. This is a notorious falsehood. Peter Navarre, a Spanish doctor of

divinity, in his work upon *Restitution*, published in 1587, maintains, that "according to the more com- "mon opinion of divines, *juxta communiorem theo- "logorum sententiam*, it suffices, to secure a safe "conscience, to act according to a probable opi- "nion, should it even be the less probable." And Valentia, the first Jesuit divine who embraced that opinion, though confined within much narrower bounds than it was by the generality of the main- tainers of the doctrine, wrote only in 1593. Bar- tholomew de Medina places its birth about the year 1577, that is sixteen years before the publication of Valentia's work, which speaks of this new doctrine of the schools only incidentally, and not *ex-professo*. For Vasquez was the first amongst the Jesuits who maintained it, in that manner, in 1598, that is to say, twenty-one years after the doctrine had been intro- duced into the schools. What a luminous piece of criticism is this of Pascal, who avers, that this theo- logical opinion is an invention of the Jesuits? But this is not all. The Jesuits Rebello and Comitolo, were the two first divines who openly attacked the doctrine of *probable opinion*, one in the year 1608, the other 1609.* Thyrsus Gonzales, a general of the order, composed a work *in quarto* against this opinion; and his work received an eulogy from the great Bossuet. "No man," said he before the assem- bly of clergy in 1700, "ever handled this subject "with more erudition and uprightness. *Gonzales "was a most holy man and burned with the love of*

* See the Answer to the extracts from the Assertions, vol. II. p. 286.

"*truth.*"* Several other Jesuits maintained the old doctrine; the thirteenth general congregation of the order expressly declared, that the doctrine of *probable opinion,* was not the doctrine of the society, which it was obliged to maintain; and, amongst those Jesuits who did follow it, many opposed the excesses to which some maintainers of the doctrine carried it. Such, for instance, was that strange position, that a judge might decide a cause in favour of one suitor, who probably might have a right to the property in contest, although the other suitor should have proved, that he had a more probable and better founded right to the property in litigation. It must be moreover remarked, that *probable opinion* was the common doctrine of the schools, not only in Spain, Italy, and Germany, but even in France, where it was taught by three renowned doctors of the Sorbonne, namely, Duval, who was the director of St. Vincent de Paul, Gamaches and Isambert. It is therefore certain, 1.

* Qui nemo doctiùs et candidiùs hanc materiam illustravit.... Hic vir sanctissimus, zelo, ut legenti patet veritatis incensus. (See the depositions of the assembly of 1700.) The Jansenists gave out, that the greater part of the Jesuits was so dissatisfied with the purport of his book, that they resolved to depose him. There is no truth in this assertion. In a particular congregation of deputies, whom they term proxies, they put the question, whether it was advisable to summon a general congregation, not to examine the contents of the book, but to investigate his general conduct and government; and, upon debate, the proposition for holding a general congregation was negatived; which clearly proves, that even in the suppositions, that some exalted and overheated minds had wished to depose Gonzales, on the score of his opposing the doctrine of *probable opinion* (which was not the fact), the proposition would have been rejected by the majority of the Jesuits. (See the *Memorial concerning the Institute,* printed at Rennes in 1762. p. 329).

That the Jesuits were not the authors of the doctrine. 2. That they were the first who publicly opposed it. 3. That such of them as followed it, maintained a doctrine common at that time to all the schools of divinity. 4. That they taught it with great caution and moderation. How then did Pascal discover, and pretend to demonstrate, the foundation and secret of the ambitious policy of the Jesuits, in this their original and peculiar doctrine of probable opinion? It was a secret known to all catholic schools, and generally followed up in the tribunal of penance, when consciences are submitted to their directors. How then could it become a new and artful engine of policy, in the hands of the Jesuits, to draw persons of every class and condition to their confessionals, to attain universal dominion, by commanding the consciences of all? In a word, if it be still insisted upon, that the maintenance of this opinion necessarily develops a conspiracy against the gospel, then not only the Jesuits must be charged with it, but the greater part of all other religious orders, and the greater number of divines of all the universities of Europe, not even excepting the Sorbonne. I repeat it again, it is supreme folly, it is flat absurdity, to see nothing in these faculties of theology, and these religious houses, but bands of conspirators, who have combined together, at all risks, hazard and expenses, to annihilate the whole morality of the gospel. The evidence which Pascal offers to demonstrate the existence of the conspiracy, with which he wishes to fix the Jesuits, is as ridiculous and chimerical, as the conspiracy itself.

§ III.

The Provincial Letters carry upon the face of them Ignorance and Malice.

I have already remarked, that father Daniel had discovered a crowd of false quotations and palpable falsifications in this work. In some instances, the translation of the Jesuit authors is not correct; in others, the author gives one part only of the opinion of the moralist, and suppresses the other part, which modifies or explains it; and in very many, he attributes the aberration of individuals to the body at large. In this tissue, then, of false assertions, studied inaccuracies, and atrocious calumnies, one discovers not a spark of enlightened criticism, nor a glimpse of that valuable commodity known amongst men under the appellations of honesty and uprightness. Such was the opinion of the parliament of Provence, concerning these *Provincial Letters.* By their order, they were publicly burnt, as *being filled with calumies, falsehoods, suppositions, and defamation.* Such are the words of the sentence passed upon them. The archbishop of Mechlin, called them *injurious, scandalous, crafty impostures,* and their authors *insolent defamers.* Four French bishops, with nine doctors of the faculty of Paris, whom the king had charged to examine and report upon them, did not handle them more tenderly. The following is a copy of their report.

"We, the undersigned, having been deputed by "the king to pass our judgment upon a book, which "is intituled, *Provincial Letters of Louis de Mon-* "*talte, &c.*; after having diligently examined it, "we certify, that the heresies of Jansenius, which "have been condemned by the church, are there "maintained and defended, and that not only in the "letters themselves, but also in the notes of Wil- "liam Wendrock, and likewise in the disquisitions "of Paul Irenæus, which are annexed unto it. "This is so evident, that if any one deny it, he can "not have read the book, or, if he has read it, he "could not have understood it; or, which would be "still worse, he would not hold for heretical, what "the sovereign pontiffs, what the Gallican church, "and the sacred faculty of Paris have condemned "as such. We testify also, that abuse and inso- "lence are so common to these three authors, that "saving the Jansenists, they spare no one whatso- "ever; neither popes, bishops, nor the sovereign, "nor his principal ministers, nor the sacred faculty "of Paris, nor religious orders; and therefore the "book is worthy of all the pains and penalties "which the laws pronounce against defamatory and "heretical libels.

"Done at Paris, this 7th day of September, in "the year 1660. Henry de Lamotte, bishop of "Rennes. Hardouin, bishop of Rhodès. Francis, "bishop of Amiens. Charles, bishop of Soissons. "Chapel, curate of St. James. Morel, Bail, "Nicolai, Grandin, Saussoy, De Gancy, Cha- "millard, De Lestocq."

After this judgment of the bishops and doctors of

the Sorbonne, the council of state condemned the *Provincial Letters* to be publicly burnt; and at Rome, too, they were condemned as heretical and slanderous.

These authorities surely suffice to prove, that this work of Pascal, carries, upon the face of it, both ignorance and malice. We will, nevertheless, take in hand the refutation of one of the most serious charges laid by this author against the Jesuits, in order to shew more clearly with what extreme diffidence he ought to be read by any person who is in search of truth.

In the 5th *Provincial Letter*, Pascal charges the Jesuits with permitting the christians in China and India to commit idolatry: "They have" says he, "directors for all manner of persons; and they "answer so well to every question put to them, "that when they are in countries where a crucified "God passes for folly, they suppress the scandal of "the cross, and only preach up Jesus Christ glori-"fied, not Jesus Christ suffering; as they did in "China and India, where they permitted the chris-"tians to practise downright idolatry, with this sub-"tle invention of concealing an image of Jesus "Christ under their clothes, teaching them to refer "mentally to that image the public adorations "which they paid to the idol of Chacim-choan, and "their Keum-fucum, as Gravina, the Dominican, "reproaches them with; and as it is witnessed in a "Spanish memorial presented to Philip IV of Spain, "by the Cordeliers of the Philipine islands, as "reported by Thomas Hurtado, in his book inti-"tuled, the *Martyrdom of Faith*, p. 427; in such

" manner, that the congregation of cardinals *de* " *propagandâ fide,* where obliged to issue special " inhibitions to the Jesuits, under pain of excom- " munication, to allow of any acts of idolatry upon " any pretexts whatever, or to conceal the mystery " of the cross from any of those whom they instruct " in religion; commanding them most expressly to " receive none to baptism, till they have that know- " ledge, and enjoining them to expose, in all their " churches, an image of our Lord crucified, as it " is more fully set forth in the decree of that con- " gregation, given on the 9th of July, 1646, signed " by the cardinal CAPONI. Thus have they con- " ducted themselves in every part of the world, " under colour and favour of the doctrine of *proba-* " *ble opinion,* which is the source and basis of all " this irregularity and scandal."

This charge includes two principal heads, 1, of passing over in silence the mystery of the cross, in those countries where this mystery scandalized the pagan; 2, of allowing the practice of idolatry to christians, recommending to them to refer mentally to the image of Jesus Christ, concealed under their clothes, the public adoration they paid to their idols. Pascal brings in evidence, to substantiate this horrid crime; 1, the testimony of Gravina the Dominican; 2, a memorial presented to the king of Spain by the Cordeliers of the Philipine islands; 3, a decree of the congregation *de propagandâ,* which forbids the Jesuits, in particular, under pain of excommunication, to keep up this horrid practice. We will begin by considering the

most weighty objection, which is the decree of propaganda.

There was no decree upon this subject in the year 1646, but in 1645. Again, it was not passed in July, but in September. The name of cardinal Caponi appears not upon it; it is signed by cardinal Ginetti. These little observations we consider of trifling consequence; they serve however to show the inaccuracy of the author who quotes, and who must not therefore be considered infallible. Let us come to the pith of the question.

When, in China, any person solicited the honour of being graduated a doctor, he was called upon to render some ceremonious forms to the memory of Confucius. In the beginning, the Jesuits, and the greater part of the missionaries of the different religious orders, considered these ceremonies purely civil, and allowed their neophytes to attend them. Some however saw something of an idolatrous worship in them, and severely prohibited their converts from conforming to them. In the mean-while, father Morales proposed to propaganda his difficulties, amongst which were the following queries; namely, *whether it be lawful to prostrate oneself before the idol Chin-choam, and to sacrifice to Confucius.* The congregation decided, that it was not lawful to sacrifice to Confucius. Upon this point the Jesuits agreed perfectly with propaganda, and with the pope who approved of their answers; but they pretended, that the ceremonies observed in honour of this philosopher of China, were in no sense a sacrifice, but merely profane rites and honours, such

as a scholar makes to his master, as an acknowledgment of the respect and deference, in which he holds his person and character. But some enemies of the society spread abroad the news, that the fathers allowed of the adoration of idols, and that they concealed from the pagans the mystery of the cross. Without pronouncing at all that the Jesuits were guilty of these excesses, the sacred congregation addressed the decree alluded to by Pascal, not to the Jesuits in particular, but to all the missionaries, of whatever order or institute they were; *Omnibus et singulis missionariis, cujuscumque ordinis, religionis et instituti;* and if the sacred congregation added the words, *even to the religious of the society of Jesus, (etiam societatis Jesu,)* one must not conclude with Pascal, that this notorious prevarication was specially inhibited to the Jesuits, under pain of excommunication; because the clause, *etiam societatis Jesu,* was the ordinary style (*stylus curiæ*) in all the decrees concerning religious bodies, as will appear evident to any one who will give himself the trouble of throwing his eye over the *Bullarium.* It is also to be remarked, that this question, concerning the Chinese ceremonies, was, upon the whole, difficult and embarrassing; that, in the commencement of the dispute, the Dominicans and several other missionaries thought with the Jesuits; that, notwithstanding the decree of 1645, propaganda authorized, by another decree of 1656, all the missionaries to allow of these exterior rites and ceremonies, as being purely civil or political, and that it was after very long discussion, that the holy see at last proscribed them, by a definitive sentence

of condemnation. Pascal has very fully cited the decree of 1645, but has very carefully avoided any mention of that of 1656,

As to the memorial of the Cordeliers of the Philipine islands, it is in the well known style of a certain Diego Collado, a turbulent firebrand, notorious for his impostures and inconsistencies, and who makes a most disgraceful figure in the annals of his order. The authority for fastening this memorial upon him, is the positive assurance of Navarette, a Dominican friar, who once was one of the most ardent enemies of the Jesuits, but, after he had been raised to an archbishopric, became one of their warmest apologists, and most zealous protectors. He was not the only man of weight who, at that time, stood forward in defence of the society. Two bishops of the Philipine islands wrote to the pope, that they felt themselves obliged in conscience to apprize his holiness, that they were fully acquainted with the falsity of the charges, that had been exhibited against these fathers of the society in that memorial, and in general reports. And father Sarpetri, a Dominican and a missionary in China, certified in writing, "that the fathers of the society, "had announced in China Jesus Christ crucified, "not only by preaching, but also by printed books "in the Chinese language, great numbers of which "they had forced into circulation; that they ex- "plain with great care and perseverance to their "neophytes, the mysteries of the passion of our "blessed Redeemer; that in some of the residences "of the fathers, there are brotherhoods of the sa- "cred passions; and that very recently, the great,

" persecutor of our holy faith, called Yam-Quam-
" Sein, reproached the missionaries with nothing
" more than that, in preaching up their gospel,
" they held forth a crucified man, as the supreme
" God of heaven and earth; and this he proved
" from the very books published by the Jesuit mis-
" sionaries."

He added, that fearing lest by his silence he might be presumed to countenance the false calumnies that were set afloat concerning the Jesuits, he felt himself bounden publicly to declare, that the Jesuits did not permit idolatry, and that they did openly preach up Jesus Christ crucified. This piece is deposited in the library of the Jesuits' college at Paris. The author of the work, intituled, *Defence of the new Christians and the Missionaries of China,* invites those, who might raise scruples concerning the authenticity of this piece, to convince themselves by ocular demonstration of its originality. After such conclusive evidence, little does it avail us to know what Gravina has thought fit to think or say upon the subject. It is not upon the testimony of a religious man, either misinformed or prejudiced, that we believe in facts vouched for by historians of much higher credit than he can pretend to, that we are to charge with the horrid crime of idolatry, apostolic labourers in the vineyard, who brave the dangers of the sea, and constantly expose themselves to the immediate horrors of bloody persecution, in order to preach the gospel of Christ to the idolaters. A critical judgment of that sort, would bespeak, in downright earnest, a very loose moralist, who ought in consistency to rouse the hor-

ror and indignation of the whole tight-laced school of austerity against him.

What are we then to think of the tale of the concealed crucifix, with which Pascal has so pleasantly enlivened his narrative? Is it not palpably a fiction, not even alluded to in the decree of propaganda of 1645, but admirably served up to suit, adorn and give zest to the *Provincial Letters?* If the Jesuits thought that it sufficed to carry a concealed crucifix under one's clothes, to avoid the commission of idolatry by public acts of adoration, whence comes it that they resorted not to this pious fraud themselves, to avoid the punishment and death which awaited their profession of christianity? About one hundred Jesuits were murdered in Japan alone. Some underwent the frightful torment of being gradually suffocated with water, others of being burnt to death by slow fires. It would have been an easy task to conceal a crucifix under their clothes, and then prostrate themselves before the idols, mentally referring this idolatrous worship to Jesus Christ. If they had taught, that this refined direction of the intention was a full excuse for apostasy, would they, for the mere pleasure of suffering, have disported in the unheard of torments of a lingering death from water and fire? This must be allowed to be truly a very singular piece of ambition; and if this be the achme of Jesuitical policy, in lieu of lying open to the imputation of being wily and malicious intriguers, they ought to be dubbed senseless drivellers and harmless ideots. I know not what Pascal would have replied to this short argument; but I certainly feel that it is unanswerable, as to the

fact of the concealed crucifix, demonstrating, that the whole invention is but a malicious tale thrown into the batch, admirably calculated to heighten the relish of the *Provincial Letters.*

It is high time to put a finishing hand to this discussion, by summing up the consequences and results of this chapter. The plot ascribed by Pascal to the Jesuits, for attaining universal dominion, by directing all consciences at the expense of the whole morality of the gospel, is a downright chimera. The evidence produced by this writer, to substantiate the reality of the conspiracy, is irrelevant and inconclusive to the last degree. The *Provincial Letters,* though written in a style of elegance and humour, cannot recommend themselves by any pretension to impartiality, truth or honesty. The public justice of the country has made a severe example of them. True it is, that the Jesuits have had amongst them some rather loose casuists, among whom are to be reckoned above all, fathers Bauny, Escobar and Pirot, the author of the *Casuist's Apology;* but if we except the doctrine of *probable opinion,* which was, for more than half a century, the common doctrine of all the religious orders and the catholic universities, there is not to be found in the writings of any of the fathers of the society, one proposition having a tendency to lax morality, which has not been combated by ten or twenty other divines of the society. The generals of the order of St. Ignatius have made many regulations, to prevent or abolish abuses which affected the purity of their teaching; nor do the approbations by the official revisers of books written

by Jesuits, go any way to prove that the particular opinions contained in them was the doctrine of the whole society. Nothing therefore can be more unfounded, nor more calumniating, than to condemn the whole society of that laxity in morals which their enemies place to their account.

We have not spoken of several other works written in the same spirit, and with the same uprightness, as the *Provincials;* because they have been forgotten, and the facts and principles which we have brought forward, are a clear and evident refutation of them. A certain modern author of a very thick book, intituled, *The Jesuits, such as they have ever been in the political, religious and moral departments of the state,* pretends, that there are but three or four errors in the *Extracts of Assertions of the persons calling themselves Jesuits.* We shall do no more than refer him to the *Answer of those Assertions,* published by Griffet and de Menoux. He will then convince himself, that, instead of four errors in the quotations, he should have said that there were twelve hundred downright falsifications, including studied and intentional suppressions of the text, to give to the quotations, as set forth in the assertions, a sense directly contrary to the plain and obvious meaning of the original authors. This is to be sure a slight error of calculation, a pardonable trip in the chapter of obloquy, especially in a book written *ex professo* upon the morality of these very religious men. If, to compromise the difference, I shall give up to the ancient magistrate six hundred of these falsifications, there would still remain six hundred more, which, without

being too severe upon the authors, one may confidently assert so let down a critical work, as to throw it into that class of party productions which command no esteem and inspire no confidence.

Some readers may be surprised, and perhaps take scandal, at the freedom with which I have spoken of Pascal's *Provincial Letters:* they may think, that, in lieu of respecting talent and genius, I contemn them with equal presumption and indecency. No; I contemn neither talent nor genius, when employed in the cause of truth and the defence of innocence. But when, led astray by a spirit of party and revenge, they trample upon one and the other, without shame, honesty or remorse; from that moment I am imperiously summoned to marshal myself on the side of history, innocence and justice. I admire Pascal when, even in an early age, by an incomparable vigour of mind, he surmounts the rugged difficulties in geometry, and throws new lights upon the science of physics. I admire him still more, when, giving new energies to his mental powers, he seizes, with unprecedented efforts, the unlimited relations which approximate mortal man with his Creator, and displays new and profound ideas of the œconomy of christianity. But, by a criminal abuse of talent, does he condescend to the shameful, the pitiable excess of pouring out ridicule and abuse upon a learned, a virtuous body of men, which has enriched science by its discoveries, and honoured mankind by its virtues. Then, and not till then, supported by truth and justice, dare I, maugre my personal weakness, stand up against this Colossus, to give battle to this Goliah. It is not I, who charge

him with being a calumniator, it is truth: it is not I, who condemn him, it is justice: it is not I, who triumph over him, it is innocence, outraged innocence, that is avenged by her satellites, truth and justice.

With difficulty may I say it, in closing this chapter, with great difficulty do I check the indignation which arises at the violent efforts of some, to cry down the Jesuits in the eyes of the public, under the pretext of avenging degraded morality. The public teaching of these learned religious men was pure and spotless. They trained up youth to morality and religion, with a zeal crowned with success. Kings, pontiffs, cities, provinces and empires, honoured the society with their esteem and benevolence. Then, to deprive the institute of this sweet and gratifying reward for its services, they falsify the works of the disciples of St. Ignatius; they bring to life books that had long been buried in the dust of libraries, of which neither the titles nor authors were longer known; they sully the public mind, by the revival of opinions forgotten or detested by the Jesuits; they unwarrantably fasten the aberrations of some few individuals upon the entire body; they set to scorn and naught those immutable rules of honour and justice, which all tribunals have unexceptionably observed towards the most notorious malefactors; and this last mentioned conduct of theirs is, above all the rest, marked with violence and atrocity. What body on earth exists, of which no single individual ever exposed himself to censure? If whole institutions be to be made responsible for the particular actions of each indi-

vidual of their members, must they not all be abolished, as so many schools to teach and encourage vice, as so many temples dedicated to the indulgence of all the bad passions? The whole order of judges and magistrates ought to be therefore put an end to, because some of them have, and some actually do oppress the poor and sell justice. You must destroy all military orders, and every species of military service, because several of that class and profession are turbulent libertines and murderers; as well as chevaliers or knights decorated with the marks of bravery and honour, who disgrace with dastardly meanness those colours covered with glory, under which they ought to sacrifice their lives for their prince and country. You must therefore trample in the dust, and consign to ignominy and annihilation, all governments, monarchical, aristocratic and republican, because amongst kings there are tyrants, turbulent and ambitious leaders in aristocracies, and vile flatterers of the ferocious majesty of the mob in all republics. In a word, the human species must cut each other's throats, or their own, to entomb the very last of the race, because as long as mankind exists, so long will vice find its altars, and the earth bring forth monsters. What excesses will not that system produce, which blasts and destroys whole bodies of men for the isolated crimes of the individual? To follow it up in practice, as it is thus holden in theory, would convert the world into a heap of ashes and devastation. Such however is the barbarous justice dealt out against the society of Jesuits, to proscribe and devote them to infamy. History asserts

it, and posterity will hand it over as a fact from generation to generation.

Some individual Jesuits have taught rather lax morality, therefore all Jesuits are vile corrupters of morals. Within the space of a whole century, there was one instance of a Jesuit having committed an act of bankruptcy; from that moment all Jesuits are denounced to the public as interested and covetous merchants, and infamous bankrupts.—A father Guignard kept in his room some pamphlets, published in the time of the league; and therefore all the order is stigmatized with the odious denomination of seditious regicides. Thus confounding the innocent with the guilty, they have dealt out a general condemnation, *en masse*, against a society of twenty thousand religious men, as a town taken by assault is delivered up to pillage and flames. At the thought of such illegal process, and such unaccountable judgments, who is the man of equity or honour, who will not exclaim with indignant zeal,—May such tragic scenes, in which passion barbarously immolated traduced innocence, never be renewed in times to come. The glory of nations demands it,—it is the wish of human nature,—it is the call of religion.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the Consequences of the Destruction of the Jesuits.

FRANCE has lost in the Jesuits an academy of learned men, a valuable reunion of teachers of ability and virtue, which form the last rampart of religion and morality, and a powerful support of the throne of the descendants of St. Louis.

§ I.

France has lost in the Jesuits an Academy of learned Men.

The unbelievers of the last century turned to ridicule all orders of monastic regulars, because they were religious institutions. Yet were these monasteries, so cried down, vast laboratories consecrated to useful pursuits, which have enriched the sciences and fine arts with precious discoveries and works of immortal fame. Freed from the cares of a family, strangers to civil or political employments, habituated by the rules of their order to an austere and active life, these monks, of whom the fashion is to speak with a smile of contempt, and to impress the vulgar with the idea of their being creatures secluded from and quite useless to society, these I say are

the very persons, who in the days of barbarism and ignorance, have preserved the precious monuments of the Greek and Roman literature, and, in these latter days, they have projected and executed vast undertakings, to which the life and fortune of any individual would have been incompetent. In the libraries of their order, they preserved books and manuscripts, from which they drew knowledge; in the members of their institute they had zealous co-operators, who wrote what the more learned dictated, lightened for them the labour of research, and contributed, each according to his means, to the common stock of knowledge and reflection for the composition of what was to be brought before the public; and, amongst the valuable donations, which the piety of our ancestors made to these magnificent institutions, there frequently were complete printing offices, to put to the press those immense works of erudition, which had been produced by the zealous and unceasing labours of several generations of these religious. In France, the Benedictines, the Jesuits, the Oratorians, have strucken out new and valuable lights for the literary and learned world. Were our libraries divested of their productions, how many previous monuments would not be wanting to criticism, taste, history, and every part of science.

The limits of a small work, like this, permit me not to display at full the numerous services rendered to the world at large, by the disciples of St. Bennet and cardinal de Bérulle, in the departments of human knowledge; I have only to speak of the Jesuits, which will not, I assume, give any handle or

rise to jealousy or self-love from instituting rival parallels.

Gifted with eminent powers of discerning men and talents, the Jesuits were particularly happy in their selection of the youth who solicited to be admitted into their order. They possessed also wonderful sagacity in discovering and encouraging each one's peculiar talents, and employing it in the manner most available. On the other hand, very few were to be found in their society, who were devoid of any talent, or who were possessed of that awkward, or if we may use the expression, that bastard species of talent, which mars whatever it touches or approaches, and which lets down a congregation in the eyes of the public, in lieu of ensuring their esteem and reverence. If a young Jesuit manifested any of that fire of oratory, which blazed forth in a Bourdaloue, a la Rue, a Segaud, a Neuville, they immediately brought him forward in some frequented pulpits, or destined him for the noble function of some national mission; if he shewed a disposition for the more abstruse and profound sciences, they applied him to philosophy, to mathematics, to divinity, and to the labours of erudite research. Thus were trained up to the profound sciences, Sirmond, Petavius, Bougeant, Daniel, Tournemine, Parennin, Charlevoix, the Bollandists, &c. Such as are inclined to relish the sweets of French literature, and to improve it by the study and application of the Greek and Roman classics, were let into the flowery meads of eloquence and poetry, to make that branch of literature, and even the theatre, the study and object of their literary

pursuits. Brumoy, du Cerceau, Bouhours, Rapin, Juvency, Berthier, were launched into this brilliant career, and have left behind them a name and reputation ever dear to men of literature. To those, in whom a singular piety and apostolic zeal appeared to have lighted up the flame of that magnanimous ambition, which inspires them to lead mankind to happiness by the sacred torch of the gospel, and force them from the tyranny of prejudice and passion, were pointed out the vast empire of China, the Ottoman empire, the deserts of Africa, the islands and interminable forests of America. These regions were granted to them as vast inheritances, which they were to improve and cultivate with the sweat of their brows, and which they were to fertilize by blood, but not by foreign blood, like the invaders of other countries, but by that which runs through their own veins, as it behoves the disciples of a crucified God. To this wise selection of their subjects, to this practical discernment of their inclinations and talents, is ascribable that literary reputation and fame, which no one denies to have been attained by the society. Out of several testimonies of esteem, which they have received from the mouths of men of real learning, I crave leave to select one from the pen of M. Châteaubriand. This celebrated writer has said, "Civilized Europe has sustained an irreparable loss in "the Jesuits. They were naturalists, chemists, botanists, mathematicians, mechanics, astronomers,*

* We should not here pass over the testimony of Lalande concerning the Jesuit astronomers. "Amongst the absurd calum-

" poets, historians, translators, antiquaries, and " journalists, there was no branch of science, " which they did not cultivate with brilliant success. " Bourdaloue brought back Roman eloquence, Bru- " moy introduced us to the Greek theatre; Le- " comte, Parennin, Charlevoix, du Cerceau, Sa- " nadon, Duhalde, Noël, Bouhours, Daniel, Tour- " nemine, Maimbourg, La Rue, Juvency, Rapin, " Vanière, Commire, Sirmond, Bougeant, Petau, " have left names which ever will be honoured." This vast multitude of elegant orators, of apostolic labourers, of distinguished writers, that were produced from the society, to their immortal credit, amongst all civilized people, excited, it is true, the jealousy of many other bodies, and more especially of the universities. But this low and groveling passion, the effects of which sometimes are disguised under the affectation of pure zeal, manifests, in this instance, the eminent merit of the society, and furnishes fresh and conclusive evidence, that in their destruction France suffered the loss of an academy of learned men.

" nies, which the rage of the Protestants and Jansenists raised " against them, I particularly noticed la Chalotais, who carrried " his ignorance or blindness to that pitch, as to assert in his " pleadings, that the Jesuits had not produced any mathema- " ticians. I was then working at my *astronomical table;* I insert- " ed an article upon the Jesuit astronomers; their number asto- " nished me. I afterwards met la Chalotais at Saintes, on the " 20th of October, 1773; I upbraided him for his injustice, " and he agreed with me."

§ II.

France has lost in the Jesuits a valuable Reunion of Teachers of Abilities and Virtues.

Those, who are entrusted by the community with the charge of public instruction, are armed with a double commission; not only to train up youth to the study of the sciences, but also to enkindle in their hearts the love of virtue. Upon the successful performance of these two duties, the happiness of private families and the prosperity of the empire will generally depend. If these trainers of youth merely cultivate talent, without guarding the heart from the tyranny of its passions, they will give to the state men puffed up with the pride of intellect, but miserable and contemptible slaves to their vices; they banish virtue from the heart of their country, and with her they prescribe honour from families, and happiness from the nation; and should they inculcate any social or religious virtues, without giving a happy direction to rising talent, they deprive the state of the credit and glory which the sciences and fine arts are so admirably calculated to ensure. This latter evil is, in truth, much short of the former, since solid virtues, resting upon true principles, are the real basis of all governments; and not the light of science, be it possessed in the highest degree of perfection, that it is possible for man to attain upon earth. It is however a considerable evil, in as much as it directly counteracts the object of public education, and one of the greatest bles-

sings of society. To prove the abilities and powers of the Jesuits, in giving public education, I must shew their signal success, both in teaching the sciences and in training up youth to virtue.

To succeed in teaching, three things are necessary in the teacher; knowledge, constancy in following up a good method, and the power of exciting emulation. Without knowledge, the instructor is an *ignoramus,* and not a master; without punctuality, in following up a good method, he is an aukward pedagogue, who leads his pupil astray, instead of being an enlightened guide to conduct him to the goal of his labours; and without the power of exciting emulation, both science and method are no more than mere speculative theories, whereas, they ought practically to improve and extend the light of science. Those Jesuits who taught in their colleges, must have had knowledge. Before they undertook a course of teaching, the novice consecrated two whole years in retirement, in that profound solitude, whither his vocation led him; he there meditated upon the eternal truths, broke in and formed his temper, unceasingly practising every christian virtue in the most sublime degree; he there contracted a habit of regular and austere deportment, and acquired taste for serious pursuits, which dry up in the very root every disposition to levity, which diametrically oppose science in every stage. After having laid these foundations of wholesome knowledge, he made himself a perfect scholar, in order in time to become a perfect teacher; for five years successively, and with unabating assiduity, he strengthened himself in the learned

languages, and the classical pursuits of poetry and eloquence, in philosophy, natural history, and mathematics; then, and then only, did the institute allow him, not to fill the more honourable chairs of the higher studies, but only to teach the lower classes (or forms); they could only attain the higher degrees, after having been long trained and exercised in teaching the lower. One readily conceives, that under such a course of discipline, young men, gifted with talents, taste, and genius, fond of literary pursuits, and completely broken in to regularity and obedience, became, after the lapse of some few years, men highly instructed, and professors of the first merit.

These enlightened masters followed the very best method of teaching, which had been sanctioned by deep reflection upon long experience. Rules of consummate wisdom, drawn up by men of eminent ability and knowledge, was a code of elementary instruction to the young professor; it was known under the title of *Ratio studiorum.* Whatever concerned the internal discipline of the schools, the means of exciting emulation, the conduct of the professors to their scholars, was there fully and faithfully set forth, with all necessary details. This was a constant, universal, invariable rule, which every Jesuit was bounden perfectly to know, and incessantly to keep in mind, from which no one should ever swerve, it being always a matter of infinite danger, to leave to the arbitrary discretion of individuals, to prejudice, and to the various workings of the imagination, the rules which ensure the success of scholastic exercises. It will be im-

possible for me to particularize each article of this code of classical legislation, if I may so express myself, all of which contributed proportionably to the perpetuation of that successful method of teaching, for which the colleges of the society were so renowned. The narrow limits of this book prevent this examination; we refer our readers to this subject admirably treated in the *Apology of the Institute and of the Doctrine of the Jesuits.** The authority I shall now quote is of the greatest weight, no less than that of the father of modern philosophy. "As to what relates to the instruction of "youth," says lord chancellor Bacon, "there is but "one word to say; consult the Jesuits' schools, for "there is nothing better than what they prac-"tise.† He had before explained himself in this sense, upon the method which these religious men pursued in teaching youth, at the begnining of that work. We have already quoted that remarkable passage, which expresses his enthusiastic admiration of those fathers, that he cannot contemplate the zeal and talents of the Jesuits, for training up youth to science and virtue, without recalling to his mind, what Agesilaus said of Pharnabasus; *Such as you are, why are you not one of us.*

In a word, the Jesuits had an astonishing talent for exciting a noble emulation, that necessary rivalry which is the soul of science, and the spring

* Chap. xxi. and xxii. This work, almost forgotten, because it is not very modern, is a model of sound reasoning, and a master-piece of eloquence.

† Ad pædagogicam quod attinet, brevissimum foret dictu: "consule scholas Jesuitarum: nil enim quod in usum venit, his "melius." *De dignitate et augment. scientiarum*, lib. vii. p. 138.

which gives energy to talent, even from the very cradle. To distribute with inflexible impartiality rewards and punishments, that is to say, to bring prudently into action the two great springs of the hearts of youths, as they are of the adult, to study with indefatigable anxiety the characters of their scholars, to draw them on to their duties by motives congenial with their dispositions, to make no allowances for birth, but to square all by merit; always to follow the light of reason, never to be transported by gusts of passion, to divide the school into two rival armies, marshalled under the opposite banners of Rome and Carthage, challenging each other to classical combats, and gaining over each other alternately by continually renewing efforts, the palms of triumph, to honour the conquerors with the titles of emperors, consuls, and commanders; titles, remarks Mr. Dallas, a Protestant, in themselves childish, if you please, but as necessary for children, as titles of honour and coloured ribands are for men; add then to these motives of interest and reason for making progress in science, the more efficient motives of an all-powerful religion, which inculcates the love of labour and industry, and inspires resolution and ardour, by the attractive prospects of eternal bliss, or the intimidating consideration of the punishment awaiting the neglect or violation of duties. Such were the principal means of exciting emulation, which the institute recommended or suggested, and which the Jesuits practised with invariable success. The gravity of their conduct, their affability, their mildness, the reputation of learning which the world in general al-

lowed them, gave an effect to their discourse, their opinions, and their advice, which captivated the heart, and rendered this emulation the more pleasant in its consequences. "These religious," says M. de Bonald, "united, in an equal degree, wit and "piety, politeness and austerity, the knowledge of "God and of men." And M. Châteaubriand adds,* "Education has never raised its head, since their "fall. They were peculiarly pleasing to youth; "their polished manners took off from their instruc-"tions that air of pedantic formality, which na-"turally disgusts youth. As the greater part of "their professors passed in the world for men of re-"fined learning, the youths committed to their "charge fancied themselves in an illustrious acade-"my. They had the happy art of establishing "amongst their scholars of different conditions in "life a species of patronage, which ultimately be-"came very serviceable to the cause of science. "These ties being formed at an age, when the "heart tends naturally to generosity, were not af-"terwards rent asunder, but laid the foundation, "between the prince and the scholar, of such an-"cient and noble friendships, as we read to have "existed between the Scipios and Lœlius."

But facts go further than authorities. From their first institution, the Jesuits had the reputation of being enlightened men and able instructors. The anxiety of sovereigns to call them to their states; the astonishing rapidity with which colleges were founded in Italy, in Spain, in Portugal, and in

* Legislation primitive.

Germany, furnish full evidence of their possessing the double advantage of training up youth to science and virtue, and that their method was eminently successful. At the death of St. Ignatius, they had above a hundred colleges under their direction in different states; and within very few years after the death of this venerated patriarch, they were increased to more than four hundred. We have seen, at the beginning of this work, that the ambassadors from the emperor and other princes of Germany, had solicited the council of Trent to found new colleges of this order, as the surest means of preserving the Catholic provinces from the contagion of heresy. If the Jesuits had not, by their polished address and affability, known how to gain over the hearts of youth; if, by their brilliant success, they had not commanded the confidence of private families and the esteem of the public, their colleges would have been deserted, or very low in credit, nor would they have been citadels of the church, nor the dread of heresy.

In France, as well as in other countries, they bore the palm in every employment of public education. Their success awakened the jealousy of the eldest daughter of our monarchs. The youth of our most distinguished families ran eagerly after the instructions of these new teachers, whose renown had reached the four corners of the kingdom, which let down the credit of our university, and infused into it the seeds of acrimonious hatred and jealousy, whence sprang the root of all their quarrels with the Jesuits. And when, under the reign of Henry IV, these fathers were forced to

quit the kingdom, their scholars followed them into foreign countries in such numbers, that the schools of the university were in a manner deserted. This fact we learn from the mouth of Henry IV himself. In his reply to the president Harlay, he observes, "you say, that the most learned members of your "parliament have learnt nothing from them: if the "oldest be the most learned, you are right; they "had finished their studies before the Jesuits were "known in France; but I have heard, that such is "not the language of the other parliaments, nor in- "deed is the universal sentiment of all your own. "If they did not teach better than others, whence "came it, then, that by their absence your univer- "sity became almost a desert, and that, in defiance "of all your decrees, they follow them to Douay, "and other places out of my dominions."

This fact is also vouched for by Du Boulay, the historian of our university. "They frequent their "schools," says he, "in crowds, and they desert "those of the university; what the university loses "thereby, is so much gain to the Catholic religion, "as is admitted even by the bitterest enemies of the "society."* Whence arose this influx of scholars into the Jesuit's colleges? I admit impartially, that the gratuitous education which they gave to youth, increased the number of their scholars. I will also add, that the wish of many to guard their children from the seduction of Calvinism, which was then making rapid strides throughout France, induced many of the first families about the court,

* History of the University, vol. vi. p. 916.

and through the kingdom, to send them by preference to the Jesuits; but it is also unquestionable, that the society had gained this partiality of the public by the celebrity of their professors, who more perhaps than rivalled those of the university. I do not assert, that the course of studies given in the university of Paris was inferior to that which was given in the Jesuits' colleges; I will go no further than to remark, that these two rival bodies of instructors were perpetually vieing with each, for the excellency of their public education, with various success and in various degrees. The chairs of the university have been filled by men of eminent merit; and amongst their scholars are to be reckoned some men of profound learning, who have graced our annals with their immortal names. But it would be unjust, in the extreme, to rob the society of the like pretensions. Flat nonsense could not be pushed further by stupidity, than by the assertion, that the education given in the colleges of the institute was vicious and barbarous. "What are you to "think," exclaims indignantly the author of the *Apology for the Jesuits*, "of a man, that con- "demns, as vicious and barbarous, that education "which formed so many brilliant military characters, "venerated under the names of Bourbon, Condé, "Conti, Bouillon, Rohan, Soubise, Luxembourg, "Villars, Brissac, Montmorenci, Duras, Brancas, "Grammont, Richelieu, Nivernois, Mortemart, "D'Estrée, Broglie, Choiseul, Beaveau, Crequy, "&c. &c. &c.; so many bright luminaries of the "church, namely, La Rochefoucault, Polignac, "Fléchier, Bossuet, Fenelon, Huet, Bissy, Fleury,

" Languet, Belzunce, &c. &c. &c.; so many il-
" lustrious ornaments of the profession of the law,
" viz. Lamoignon, Seguier, Pontchartrain, Bi-
" gnon, Novion, d'Argenson, de Mesme, Lebret,
" Potier, Bouhier, Montesquieu, Maupeou, Pelle-
" tier, Amelot, Nicolaï, Mole, Henault, &c. &c.
" &c.; so many great and renowned men of sci-
" ence and literature, as Justus Lipsius, Re-
" gis, Descartes, Cassini, Varignon, Malézieux,
" Tournefort, Corneille, Rousseau, Crébillon, Mo-
" liér, Fontenelle, Monnoye, Marian, d'Olivet,
" Voltaire, Gresset, Pompingan, la Condamine,
" &c. &c. &c.

Let us leave the colleges, both of the university and of the Jesuits, in quiet possession of the reputation they have respectively enjoyed for a long series of years, even centuries, without exciting any rival jealousy that can wound self-love; let us confine our observations to this single and simple remark, that the existence of this rivalry forwarded the progress of science, and the emulation of these learned bodies rendered essential services to the cause of literature. This advantage was strongly noticed by the famous cardinal de Richelieu, and he was admitted, on all hands, to have been a keen and deep politician. " He thought
" that the society of the Jesuits could not, without
" injuring the public, in whose eyes it was so re-
" spectable for virtue and learning, be deprived
" of that function which they could exercise with
" signal service to the state.....And since the im-
" perfection of human nature always required
" some make weight or counterpoise, it was de-

"sirable that the university and the Jesuits should "vie with each other in teaching, in order that "emulation should acuminate their powers, and "that science should thereby acquire a firm footing "in the state, that if one of them should happen to "lose so sacred a deposit, it might be found in the "other."*

Besides the power of forming the minds of youth to learning, the Jesuits possessed the happy art of moulding their hearts to the more important practices of virtue.

What manner of conduct, in an instructor, is requisite to keep up, in the heart of his pupil, the reign of social and religious virtue? 1. He must display before him all the duties which religion and social nature sanction and require, as well as the motives for performing them with fidelity and perseverance; for the heart of a youth is new and uncultivated soil, upon which the seeds of virtue should be cast early, if it be wished that, in the season when his propensities and powers are about to ripen, they be not blighted nor burned up by the destructive winds of the passions. What then are these first seeds of virtue, but the knowledge of the relative duties to God and our fellow-creatures, and the powerful motives which our interest, both temporal and eternal, holds out to perform them? 2. He must, by the sway of example, give credit and efficacy to the lessons of wisdom and virtue which come from his lips, otherwise his lectures

* The Political Testament of Cardinal de Richelieu, part 1, ch. 2.

and instructions, however admirable in themselves, will be no more in the eyes of his pupils than idle speculations, which enforce no duty, and his conduct will be considered but as the getting up of a part by a player, which begets no confidence, the mere trick of a juggler, that inspires, as it deserves, naught but contempt. 3. He must incessantly labour at checking and forming the dispositions of his pupil, whilst they are still pliant, lest they gain a head and become unmanageable, at that critical turn of life when the passions acquire their full force and power. To succeed therefore in this important object, without which the youth's virtue can be neither pure nor permanent, he must study with close attention his character, to learn its strong and its weak parts, and to discover the most lively and deeply-rooted propensities, to the ascendency of which his vicious inclinations are most likely to bend. But above all, it is indispensably necessary to keep alive in his mind, and in full action, the powerful spring of religion. Vainly will he talk to him, in the most lofty and energetic terms, of justice, probity, honour, and philosphy, if he binds not his passions with the chain of religion; quickly will he pride himself on his liberty of action, he will disdainfully reject the curb of moral institution, and plunge into the sensuality of the moment, heedless of justice, probity, honour, or philosophy. For, say what they will, the keenest of the philosophists cannot disprove, that the thought of a God, terrible in his judgments, magnificent in his rewards, is a more powerful and efficient check to man on the verge of crime, than the beauty of vir-

tue, the hideousness of vice, the fear of disgrace, or the thirst of fame. Without applying this religious sanction to morality, which alone embraces all cases, extends to all circumstances, interests all men of every description, quality and character, it is but a shadow of legislation without the reality of a legislator, a law without means of being enforced, a stately edifice built upon sand, that falls before the first gust of wind. Never then will an instructor, be he gifted with the rarest and the most desirable talents, train up a pupil into a solid virtuous man, if religion be not the prime ingredient in his education, or if it be only resorted to as an incidental mean of attaining virtue. Experience proves the melancholy truth; has not our youth been more depraved in their taste, more corrupt in their morals, since that disasterous epoch, at which impiety had become popular, and had overrun every public institution, in order to burn up in the root every social and religious virtue? 4. In a word, a teacher must be highly gifted with the powers of persuasion, which inspires the love of virtue to his pupils, by exhibiting her in the most attractive form, bringing under her power and influencc, the hardest hearts and most haughty characters, by a happy mixture of mildness, firmness, and authority, which rises above all obstacles to the reform of morals, both with vigour and skill. Without this essential necessary, the pains, the instructions, the example of the teacher would be fruitless; all he would gather from his labour, would be the cheerless certainty of his having worked in vain.

1. The Jesuits were remarkable for instructing

youth in their duties, in their catechisms, in their retreats, and in pious congregations. If the youth of the present day, said the judicious Fleury in his day, be, without comparison, so much better instructed than those of former times, it is in a great measure ascribable to the excellency of the Jesuits' catechisms.*

2. These fathers added great weight to their instructions on virtue, by the force of their own example. No one discovered amongst them, that monstrous contradiction of precept and example, which lets down the instructor, throws suspicion around the principles of truth, and casts an air of contemptible ridicule upon the preceptor and his precepts. They lived under a severe rule, they faithfully observed not only the commands of God, but the evangelical counsels, they practised what they taught, and acted before they commanded. The purity of their morals has ever been so far above censure, that their enemies even have done them justice upon this head. The bishop Fitzjames published a letter in his Appeal, in which he vehemently abuses the order; "but as to their morals," says he, "they "are pure. We willingly do them the justice to "admit, that there is not in the whole church, an "order whose members are more regular and se-"vere in their morals.† To the testimony of this prelate, we will also add that of the Jansenistical author of the pamphlet lately published, *Upon the Pope and the Jesuits,* who frankly admits, that *very frequently the scandalous conduct of those*

* Preface to his *Historical Catechism.* † Page 20.

who replaced the Jesuits, made the fathers to be regretted; and he soon after adds, "The Jesuits "led a life of frugality; they were modestly dress- "ed, and with ordinary cloth. Their buildings "had nothing magnificent in them; and in their "furniture one saw nothing that did not suit the sim- "plicity of the religious state."* These admissions are worth collecting, as they come from the mouths of avowed enemies of the society. *Satis firmum est testimonium, quod perhibetur veritati, ab ipsis inimicis.*

3. The Jesuits did not confine their exertions merely to the instruction of youth, and giving them an example of virtue; they laboured, moreover, with a zeal, that nothing could check, at the reform of the characters of their pupils, the improvement of their morals, and the infusion of religious piety into their souls. Hence that unceasing application of the teachers to instil into their scholars a taste for study, and a real spirit of emulation, to divert them from habits of indolence, the ordinary source of licentiousness. Hence that continual vigilance, by night and day, upon the actions of their pupils, in order to stop any rising evil in the beginning; that just severity, which forbids the explanation or lecture of obscene books, which punishes the frequenting of licentious spectacles, which breaks up dangerous or suspicious friendships, and drives without commiseration from their colleges all incorrigible subjects, who encouraged disorder and misconduct. Hence also that attention to recommend modesty

* Pag. 78, 2d Edit.

and decency in their deportment, moderation and politeness in classical disputes, ease and good breeding in their conversation, that active and patient charity, which accommodates itself to all characters and all circumstances, which avails itself of private advice and public exhortation, brings successively into action honour, friendship, and fear, to subdue, keep under, or correct disorderly propensities, at the moment they take root and begin to shoot; that imprescriptible usage of requiring from each pupil a monthly bill (certificate) of his having been to his confessor; a practice which I must allow ranks not very highly in the department of morals in this age, in which the pride of intellect extinguishes all piety; yet am I free to say, it is a wholesome practice of devotion, which keeps men within the boundaries of duty, and wards off those fatal abandonments of passion, which frequently heap disgrace upon whole families, throw them into untimely mourning, or plunge them into unmerited distress. Hence, in a word, those retreats consecrated to piety, where they thunder the divine word, in order to rouse in the hardened sinner that remorse which leads to repentance; in which they display, before the eyes of youth, the attractives to virtue, and the delights of the heavenly kingdom, to draw timid souls to virtue by the attraction of rewards, which might be intimidated into despondency, and driven into despair, from the awful dread of eternal punishments; those useful congregations (or brotherhoods), which in the fashionable irreligious language of our degenerated days, are termed aggregations of enthusiasts and fanatics; where, in defiance of the

philosophism of the day, young and feeble virtue found, in the imposing pomp of religious ceremonies, and in the attractive example of the youth of the highest ranks in society, an impenetrable shield against the attacks of human respects; that is, in plain language, against the most destructive weapon ever levelled against morality. Such was the zeal of the society in forming youth to social and religious virtue. I have advanced nothing which is not literally true. " It is the public voice," says the author of the *Apologie des Jésuites,* " forced by " the great power of truth from the lips of the " bitterest of enemies, that, of all public institutions " which exist, the colleges of the Jesuits are those " which are most successful in training up youth to " morality and virtue."

4. In a word, the Jesuits possessed in an eminent degree the happy power of persuading, which crowns all the labours of the teachers in rendering pleasing, attractive, and useful, the lessons of virtue and example which he gives to his pupil, and renders fruitful his solicitude and zeal. The authority which they exercised over the youth committed to their charge, was untainted with any thing like haughtiness or disdain. They cautiously avoided that didactic pedantry, which breeds disgust and contempt, and provokes insubordination. Their virtue had nothing harsh or savage in it; their manners were pleasing and always bespoke good breeding. They won the hearts of their pupils by the polish of their language, by amenity of temper, and a real paternal affection and tenderness. The high degree of credit and reputation which

they enjoyed in every town in France, gave them an additional ascendency over the minds of their pupils, and rendered them the more docile to the advice of friendship, and, when necessary, to the word of command. I may spare myself the trouble of quoting any authority to substantiate the truth of my assertion, that the Jesuits were eminently gifted with the powers of persuasion. The enemies of the institute have frequently upbraided them with acrimony, that they were artful and insinuating, that they had a thorough knowledge of the human heart, and well knew the readiest and most efficient means of attaining the objects of their pursuit; and, if the unbelievers of the last century exerted themselves with so much energy, to withdraw the rising youth of their day from the tuition and instruction of the fathers, it arose from their conviction, that so long as the national youth should be committed to the charge of the Jesuits to be educated, the cause of incredulity (modern philosophism) never could triumph in France. An evident proof that they ascribed to the society a peculiar talent of enchaining youth to the car of christianity, and forming their hearts to the virtues of the gospel. I will, however, cite one very affecting scene, which shews to what degree the Jesuits possessed the affections and confidence of their scholars; the instance is reported by an eye witness. " I have seen," says one of the authors of the *Answer to the Assertions*, " the " scholars of the college of *Louis le Grand*, mute " from grief, tear themselves, in sullen silence, or " with sobs and tears, from the embraces of their " masters: I was witness to the regret and embar-

" rassment under which their parents consulted the " fathers, about the future instructors to whom " they should confide the education of their children, " when taken out of the hands of the fathers of the " society. I know several who pressed young Je- " suits, with extraordinary earnestness, to under- " take to continue, in a private manner, to finish the " education of those they had begun to instruct. I " exaggerate not in saying, that our enemies them- " selves witnessed all I have asserted, and were en- " raged at it. Their sole wish and hope were, that, " in process of time, they would lose the recollection " of the Jesuits, and of the manner in which they " had been oppressed."

Such was the ascendency of the Jesuits over their pupils, whom they cherished like tender fathers, and listened to them like sincere friends. With what wonderful effect then are not the lessons of virtue inculcated, and enforcedby example, on the minds of docile and submissive youth, when accompanied with so much zeal, talent, and reputation?

At the period of the downfall of the society of Jesuits, France then suffered an irreparable loss, upon the score of public education. The loss was the greater, as the body was extended throughout every part of the kingdom. No comparison can be set up between the services rendered to the public by education and instruction, which may be received from private individuals, however valuable, and that which is given to and received by the public youth, from a public permanent body of men, amongst whom sound and wholesome doctrines and exemplary virtues prevail. Private individuals vary and

differ from each other in their plans and methods of education; permanent bodies pursue one uniform unvarying system. In an age of incredulity and consequent impiety, individuals set up fanciful and absurd theories, destructive of all social and religious order; whereas permanent bodies, that have been animated with a right spirit from the very beginning of their institution, and gifted, moreover, with an efficient constitution, make head against the errors of the day, and check the misled generation in their senseless aberrations. Private individuals, slightly watched and slightly encouraged, easily drop into indolence, or give way to scandalous excesses; public bodies, kept up to strict discipline, and actuated by emulation, lop off the distempered members, by ridding the body of refractory and incorrigible subjects. In private, free and independent individuals, there is to be found no unity of principle, no unity of conduct, no unity of instruction and doctrine; but in those permanent bodies, which have a code of rules to prevent and correct abuses, this unity, so necessary to give successful effect to education, will ever be found invariably to subsist. In short, private individuals die off in the course of some few years, and their services and utility seldom survive them; public bodies subsist for ages, and perpetuate their services and utility to the remotest of times. The former resemble those flimsy buildings that begin to crumble to dust from the hour they come out of the hands of the builders, and have, at most, afforded an imperfect shelter to some few passing generations; the latter are likened to those solid monuments of anti-

quity, founded on immoveable bases, which have furnished a secure retreat to millions, and appear to have received, from the hand of the architect, the attribute of immortality. But of all the causes which concurred in rendering the suppression of the society a truly deplorable event in France, was the absolute inability to supply their want by any other institution fitted for the purpose.

We often begin to appreciate the value of a good thing, which we have possessed, only after we have rejected it as a positive evil; just as we seldom know how to appreciate virtue and merit till the possessor is buried in his grave. A reason for this is, that we see an evil when it exists, and the more so if we suffer from the absence of what is good; whereas the limited mind of man seldom perceives evil in prospective, otherwise than as a chimera, without consistency or efficiency. This is precisely what actually happened upon the destruction of the society. That fatal act of demolition was publicly hailed as the happy result of an act of authority, equally requisite for the progress of science, morality, and government; but it is too fatally true, that the destruction of the society left a void in public education, which it has hitherto been impossible to fill. Men, void of knowledge and destitute of moral virtues, were thrust into the places of the enlightened and edifying instructors of the society. Their enemies were forced into the avowal, that since the fall of that order, education had suffered a very lamentable drawback. Alarmed at the consequences of this disaster, they endeavoured to check it by putting an end to the root of the evil; they laid

a plan for a new university, and adopted a project for establishing a new order or congregation throughout all France, who should devote themselves exclusively to the instruction of youth. All their efforts and attempts failed. In the midst of all this useless stir and idle shew, there was nothing real, but the irreparable injury done to education by the extinction of the order of Jesuits; it is an easier task to throw up a heap of ruins, than to erect a magnificent monument.

Frederick, king of Prussia, though a professed patron of the new philosophy, and a sworn enemy of the Jesuits, did not however give into the general impulse, which drove the Catholic states to the destruction of the order. He exulted, as we have before remarked, with his friends in France, Voltaire and d'Alembert, at the misfortunes of the society, as at the most signal victories gained by incredulity over religion; but in defiance of d'Alembert's upbraiding him and taking scandal at the protection he afforded them in his own dominions, he kept them on foot for several years, from a thorough conviction, that there were no persons who could supply their places for education. "For my part," writes he to Voltaire, "I should be wrong to complain of "Ganganelli: he leaves me my dear Jesuits, whom "they persecute every where else: I will preserve "the precious seed, to supply those with it, who "may wish to cultivate so valuable a plant."*

Russia became also an asylum of the society. Catharine II, whose court was ever open to all the

* Lett. of the 7th of July, 1770.

French philosophers of the age, continually countenanced them throughout her states. The Jesuits preserved their colleges to the very time their institute was re-established by Pius VII. Thus, whilst the Catholic powers were banishing these religious men with unaccountable severity, they found countenance and protection in countries overspread with heresy and schism. In the early days of the institute, the conduct of the courts and cabinets was the very reverse; for if, on one hand, the princes who were most stedfastly attached to the unity of the church, thought they could not render a greater service to their people, than by introducing and settling the fathers amongst them; so, on the other, all those princes, who gave into the new heresies, entertained a sovereign hatred of them and banished them from their states. This whimsical turn of events is not inexplicable. At the beginning of the reformation, and in the infancy of the order of St. Ignatius, the princes who were the most forward in advancing the reformation, were inexorable against the Jesuits, because they were the chief bulwark of the papal chair, and the chief scourge of heresy. At the period of the destruction of the society, the Catholic courts ferociously persecuted the order, because incredulity, which influenced all their cabinets and overran their entire kingdoms, saw in them able and firm champions against this modern philosophy. But in Prussia and in Russia they were protected, in consideration of their edifying morality, and their important utility in the education of youth.

§ III.

France has lost in the Jesuits the last Bulwark of Religion and Morality.

For a considerable time before the revolution, many of the monastic orders, and spiritual corporations, had been very notoriously on the decline. The congregations of Oratorians, who, on their first establishment, and in their infancy, had justly acquired great credit from the science and virtue of several of their members, exhibited to every person interested in the cause of religion, a heart-rending scene. Jansenism and Philosophism pervaded the whole congregation, the former fastening upon all those who were in, or were in the way of being promoted to orders, the latter having seized upon their secular pupils or scholars; and in defiance of the efforts of some of the leading members of that congregation, to restore them to their ancient splendour, the new errors gained rapidly upon them, until, with other religious institutions, they fell under the sword of the revolution. The Benedictines, the Dominicans, the Bernadines, and so many other religious orders, which had edified the church and enriched the arts and sciences, were daily casting off that ancient regularity and primitive fervour, which keep up a love for the higher studies and communities, by the practice of christian virtue and perfection. Thus these different religious bodies, upon which religion heretofore rested as upon immovea-

ble pillars, appeared secretly affected with a mortal languor, which favoured the sarcasms and declamations of the incredulous. I do not assert, that they ought to be abolished, because they had fallen from their primitive fervour; that principle would go to break up and do away the very best institutions, because abuses are every where to be found. They should have been reformed; not proscribed and vilified. Though they did not make any notorious or efficient stand against the ravages of the incredulous, yet they did render some valuable services to religion and morals. It was a general and well-founded remark, that there was more faith in those provinces where convents abounded; and, generally speaking, there was visibly much more morality in those colleges which were under the direction of religious men, than in those public schools which were superintended by laymen.

Amidst this general decay of religious fervour, the society of Jesuits kept up all the vigour of youth, and joined to it the wisdom of mature age. The perfect state of its health and fervour, was ascribable to the internal power of its constitution. To the profound wisdom of its maxims and rules, must be placed that honourable but singular attribute, of never having stood in need of reform. The severe trials to which they drilled their novices, the discretionary powers vested by their institute in the superiors to discharge refractory and dangerous subjects, even after they had taken their first simple vows, seemed to warrant perpetuity to their primitive fervour and regularity, and ensure the continuation of their vigour and zeal in combating the enemies of

the church. In point of fact, at the fatal moment when these valuable institutions were falling into dissolution and decay, when incredulity, rearing its lofty head above its Creator, was preaching up both anti-social and anti-religious doctrines throughout the kingdom of France, the Jesuits stood firm and compact, like a mound of brass, to oppose the torrent. These valuable men resorted to three principal means of preserving religion in the country, as well as morality; for morals without religion exist not. By their solid writings, they vindicated the cause of religion against the outrages and assaults by which the incredulous attacked and abused the doctrine, the maxims, and the government of the gospel; by the various attentions and successful efforts they unceasingly exerted towards the youth which they had under their direction, in their numerous colleges throughout France, they kept alive in private families the sacred flame of christian piety, they inspired the higher classes of society with love and respect for religion; by means of retreats, congregations, and national missions, they rallied the timid and doubtful in faith, they brought back the strayed sheep to the fold, and planted virtue and morality in the soil, which had been overrun and choaked up with passions and vice. Like experienced and intrepid soldiers, who, braving death, come to the relief of a besieged fortress as its walls are falling before the besiegers, the Jesuits repaired the losses, and threw succours into the lines of christianity, that had been forced and devastated by the violent assaults of the enemies of revelation. Their society, then, was like the last

battlement in defence of religion; I do not say over the whole surface of the earth, where she will remain unshaken and triumphant till the end of time; but in that flourishing kingdom of France, whence she may be banished without infringement or failure of the divine promises of perpetuity. Such was the idea which cardinal Fleury had formed of it, when he told cardinal Tencin, in the letter which we have before quoted, that it was much to be deplored, that the Jesuits fell off in credit; for every one must allow, that they were almost the only defenders of the church, and the only preachers we had left.

The pretended philosophers of these latter days, who swore with equal malice and address to bring about its total ruin, were well aware of the influence of the society in maintaining religion and morality. They knew right well, that if the rising generation were trained up to religion, France never would become incredulous; and, on the other hand, that, if the youth of the nation were brought up in impiety and libertinism, religion, covered with sorrow and indignation, would quit the soil of the most christian kingdom. They had no doubt, but that, when the institute of the Jesuits were once abolished, the other religious orders would soon fall into discredit and shame. They were most intimately convinced, that men, believing neither in God or virtue, never would be tempted to bury themselves in the obscurity of a cloister. In short, they deluded themselves with this cruel hope, that, after having routed the auxiliary troops which religion had armed in its defence, they would success-

fully attack the episcopal body itself, and do away with facility all the fundamental institutions of christianity. We must not forget the honourable epithets of *the pope's body guards, the grenadiers of fanatism,* with which the philosophizing reformers honoured the fathers of the society; the plaudits and rejoicings which they sent forth on the news of the downfall of the society; the sensitive alarms that cloud these exultations of the philosophers, on the first whisper of an intention to re-establish the institute in a catholic kingdom; the intolerant zeal with which the leaders of the unbelievers pursued the last remains of the children of saint Ignatius still subsisting in Prussia, and proposing to extirpate them from Russia, and even to annihilate them in China, and full conviction will follow, that they considered the fall of the society as the most brilliant and decisive victory for the philosophic party. The event justified their calculations, and proved their hopes to be well founded; for, since the destruction of the society, the unbelievers in France have been daily gaining some new triumph, as they call it, over christianity. Religious education being no longer founded on the same solid basis, the venom of the new doctrines circulated with unchecked rapidity through all classes of society. The efficient means of reanimating the light of faith, resorted to by the Jesuits, having been either totally suppressed, or practised with less frequency and energy, religion went off proportionably, and crumbled to atoms, like a decayed building from age, and even hastened to its ruin by the destructive hands of workmen. Incredulity, inflated with success, dogmatized with

unchecked freedom, and outbraved all the lines of decency: it resembled a rapacious conqueror, marching with brutality over the mangled carcases of the enemy, revelling in the bloody purpose of destroying cities, ravaging provinces, and destroying the people. Their fatal projects were in fact realized, as they had anticipated, but to their eternal disgrace. Within some few years after the demise of the family of Ignatius, the monarchy was upset, and religion banished. Europe beheld, with consternation, princes and pontiffs immolated to revolutionary rage, some falling under the stroke of the executioner into those graves which incredulity and impiety had been so long digging for them; and from these regions of blood and death, have been ushered amongst us, the tremendous doctrines of these latter days, upon systems of anti-religion and the madness of people, who pretend to happiness, without a God, without altars, and without public worship.

Is this fatal catastrophe ascribable to the destruction of the Jesuits? Their friends maintain, that the revolution would not have taken place, had not the society been suppressed. Their enemies, on the contrary, say, that this assertion is a ridiculous paradox. In the next paragraph we shall offer our thoughts upon this question, which is awfully important both to policy and religion.

§ IV.

France lost in the Jesuits a powerful support of the Throne of the Descendants of St. Louis.

The advantage of looking into the causes of great events is, to draw from the past useful lessons for the future. Some have thought that the cause of the French revolution was a sort of infatuation for the English constitution, which inspired us with a contempt of our ancient monarchical institutions; others placed it to the account of those long and unceasing struggles of our sovereign courts with the royal authority, which abated, in the hearts of the people, that respect which was due to the prince, and their submission to the fundamental laws of the realm. Many have ascribed that lamentable event to a variety of causes, such as the enormous extravagance of the court, and the consequent fiscal difficulties in the department of the finances, which brought on the necessity of convening the states general; and last of all, the avarice of the clergy, who refused to pay off the national debt.

This charge, brought by the philosophers against the clergy, is flat absurdity. The clergy, though the first victims of the revolution, were not the cause of it. From the first meeting of the assembly, the fermentation through the nation was general; great pains were taken to raise the second order of the clergy against their bishops, by making them flattering promises, and representing the pre-

lates as absolute despots. The middling ranks, (or third order) gave evident proofs of being actuated by a mania for some political change, since, before entering into discussion, the commoners, by abolishing all distinction of ranks, upon their own authority, constituted themselves the national assembly. They stirred up the people against the nobility and clergy, who refused to coalesce with them, on account of this arbitrary violation of their privileges; they held their sittings in defiance of the royal prohibition, and then threw off the mask, in that tumultuous assembly, where the deputies swore to give a constitution to France, assuming immediately after, the title of *representatives of the nation,* whilst the monarch was at the same time to be contented with that of the *people's proxy, the public functionary,* and *trustee.* The revolutionary storm had gathered before the meeting of the states general, and the clergy evidently did not contribute to make it burst upon France, by refusing to pay off the national debt. At the moment that the great question of the spoliation of the clergy was under debate, and upon the point of being determined, the archbishop of Aix came to offer four hundred millions to meet the deficiency. To this generous offer, a member of the committee answered with harshness, *"What you offer may answer the ends of finance, but it will not answer the ends we propose to ourselves."** The turn of events proved, that this deputy represented faithfully, the sense of the majority. The proposals of the cler-

* See *The Opinion of the duke of Fitz-James, peer of France, upon the law of Finances, for* 1817, where this fact is reported

gy were rejected with disdain; and the assembly making rapid strides from one innovation to another, soon manifested, to all Europe, that they were much more bent upon the destruction of religion and the throne, than upon the arrangement of the disordered finances. Consummate ignorance or gross partiality could alone ascribe the revolution to the clergy's refusal to pay off the national debt.

Neither can we trace the cause of the revolution to the fiscal embarrassments consequent to the extravagance of the court. The difficulty in the finances was occassioned by, but did not cause, that frightful political storm. It was the criminal pretext, of which the seditious availed themselves, to calumniate the king and royal family, to destroy the monarchy, and to proclaim the republic; but it was not the destructive principle which crumbled to atoms our ancient institutions, and ingulphed us in an abyss of miseries.

As to that general infatuation for the English constitution, which is attributed to the writings of Montesquieu, and the stubborn resistance of the parliaments to the will of the monarch, I think they ought to be reckoned amongst the efficient causes of the revolution, as by weakening throughout the nation the sentiment of esteem for the monarchical constitution, and the respect for the person of the prince who fills the throne, they erect a lust for political change, and prepare the way to bolder systems of independence, and more dangerous revolutionary

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upon the authority of the count L. who voted against the restoration of the unsold church property. At le Normant's, 1817.

projects. Yet it must be allowed, that wide indeed is the difference between the constitutional government of England and the French republic, between the struggles of the parliaments with the monarch concerning Jansenism and the registering of duties and taxes, and the bloody horrors of the thorough-paced revolutionists (the sans-culotes). We must then place this change effected in our dispositions and tastes by the Anglomania, and this diminution of respect for the king, produced by the parliamentary opposition to the royal will, only as accessary, not as principal efficient causes of the revolution. They alone never could have plunged a nation, so noble and so renowned for respect and attachment to their princes, into so horrid a delirium; but when united with other elements of trouble and discord, they gave a more energetic spring to the passions, and a more terrible efficiency to the principal cause of this fatal catastrophe.

What then was the real efficient principal cause of the French revolution, which we have hitherto sought in vain? It is incredulity, equally hostile to the altar and the throne; they were the new and fatal doctrines, broached, taught and circulated by the philosophists of the eighteenth century, who covered with contempt and ridicule, whatever was most dignified in monarchy, and most sacred in religion. In fact, a nation, which, at the different epochs of its political existence, has ever distinguished itself for its sincere devotedness to its princes, and its lively attachment to the established religion, does not become suddenly an infuriated enemy of royalty and religion, without a

previous change of character or falling off from its faith. Crimes are seldom committed without a motive: we convert not impassioned love into mortal hatred, without a notorious change in our feelings and sentiments. Never would Frenchmen have been brought to the desperate excess of condemning the best of kings to the scaffold, of contaminating the wrecks of royalty with torrents of the purest blood of the nobility and clergy, of upsetting the altars, the temples, and the most venerable monuments of religion and monarchy, unless men of faction and system had taught them to confound the ideas of royalty and christianity, with those of despotisms, tyranny, superstition, error, and imposture. Under the glorious reign of Louis XIV, France was both religious and monarchical; all ranks of society, the clergy, the nobility, the people, were penetrated with respect for the throne of the Bourbons and the Catholic religion; the history of that memorable epoch is an irrefragable witness to the incontestible fact; and yet, under the reign of terror, France was converted into one vast grave, into which they promiscuously cast with the relicts of royal victims, the mutilated bodies of the ministers of God, into which they threw into the dust, with ignominy, the emblems of royalty and the awful symbols of our religion, the arms of the nobility, and the privileges of the clergy, the fundamental laws of our monarchy, and the sacred code of the gospel. Of necessity therefore the depravation of the national character must have preceded these political changes, these deplorable excesses of the revolution. Who then are the bold men who have so far succeeded

in their rash efforts to change our national tastes, and give a new direction to our passions and manners, but those unbelieving writers, who, for many years successively, brought into action the most refined combination of talents, erudition, wit, humour, sarcasm and irony, to degrade and vilify christianity, and to blacken and render odious in the eyes of the nation, the monarchical form of government.

Was it not Jean Jacques Rousseau, whose treacherous genius, armed with all the charms of a brilliant and imposing style, spread and gave credit in France to a system of irreligion, and also to false principles concerning the supremacy of the people, which became the watch word of faction and the pivot of the revolution?

Was it not Voltaire, the chief of the philosophic party, who not content with devoting religion to contempt and ridicule, shook the very foundation of the state, by frequently repeating this address to the "people. Do you know what is your greatest evil? "It is, that you are both fools and cowards: let the "people at length determine to be neither one nor "the other."*

Was it not Raynal, that inveterate unbeliever, who exclaims, like an enthusiast, in a work unfortunately too much read and valued, "What then "is this imbecile herd, which you call a nation? "Weak stupid people, since the continuance of your

* These are the expressions of Laharpe, whilst he still played the philosopher, commending Voltaire for having brought on the French revolution. (*Mercure de France*, No. 33. Aug. 7, 1790.)

" wretchedness gives no energy. You reckon mil-
" lions, and you permit a dozen of children, with
" sticks in their hands, (thus did he term the sceptre
" in the hands of kings) to drive you about at their
" will. Obey then, walk on in the paths of servi-
" tude, but importune us no more with your plaints;
" and learn at least to be wretched, if you don't
" know how to be free."†

Was it not Diderot, that blind enemy of God and royalty, who invited the people to murder their kings and their priests in those two famous lines, which have often been re-echoed in the revolutionary clubs?

To hang all kings, as they deserve, on high,
The bowels of the priests will rope supply.

Was it not that anti-religious and anti-social club of the baron d'Holbach, from whose private press, were ushered the most horrid blasphemies and curses against kings contained in small pamphlets, either distributed gratis or sold at the lowest prices, in order to give currency to the principles of anarchy, and mix them up with the absurd theories of incredulity?

Was it not, in a word, that swarm of secondary and mercenary scribblers, who, to intoxicate themselves with the fumes of praise, to gain academic honours, or make their way in the political world, became the base echoes of modern philosophism in society, at the court, and upon those fields of bat-

† *Hist. philosoph. et polit. des deux Indes.*

tle, where honourable badges were adjudged to the conquerors in literary contests? These, without any doubt, were the men who, by the criminal abuse of talent, have perverted the national character of the French people These were the inflammable elements, so long under preparation, which, by their sudden explosion, produced that political and irreligious commotion, known by the appellation of the French revolution, which threw down the throne and the altar upon each other, and covered the land we inhabit with carcasses and ruins. For after all, what was the French revolution, but the reduction into practice of all those fine theories of incredulity, of which we have given a short sketch, by men who vaunted them as the achme of human wisdom and power of intellect? What is the revolution of the 18th century, but a bloody tragedy, in which the impious were the actors, and kings and priests were the victims immolated? They meant to exhibit this tragical scene, by the care and industry with which they prepared the impure elements, and with which, if I may be allowed the phrase, they got up and played off these dismal and bloody decorations. They most literally executed all their plans and horrid devices, since the hands, doubly sacrilegious, by rooting up the foundations of monarchy and plunging the dagger into the heart of religion, were directed and commanded by the genius of incredulity.

I speak not this by way of insult to the memory of Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and other chiefs of the philosophic party. I pay ready homage to the talents of some of them; but I deplore, with

tears, the infamous productions which have sullied some of their pens. I have no difficulty in allowing that they have enriched French literature; but I cannot pass over in silence, the mischief they have done to their country, by oversetting every principle of social order.

But I shall be asked by some enemy of the Jesuits, — To what good end are all these frightful reminiscences brought back upon our minds, from which they have been almost erased; and what natural connexion have these lamentable events, which you have been retracing in our minds, with the institute of saint Ignatius?

In order to shew, that the society of Jesuits were a powerful support of the throne of the descendants of St. Louis, it was incumbent upon me to prove that incredulity had overset it. For this proposition having been once established, it will be an easy task to follow up the proof, that the society is eminently useful in its relations to monarchy. Thus then I argue upon it. The most determined enemies of religion, were the most irreconcilable enemies to royalty. Then, to defend the interests of religion against the attacks of the incredulous, was to protect the state and combat for the safety of the throne. It was a check and resistance to the impetuous torrent, which threatened, in its course, to overwhelm both the altar and throne in one common ruin. We have given in evidence, from the mouths of the leaders of the philosophers themselves, that the Jesuits were the most efficient supporters of christianity in France. And that equally proves, that they were one of the most solid supports of the

throne of his most christian majesty. If that learned body had not been destroyed, it is more than probable, that the true principles, upon which rests both religion and monarchy, would have been brought forth and maintained by many works that have not seen the light. The education of youth being more moral and christian, the new system would have found fewer dupes, and made fewer criminals. The retreats, the congregations, the natural missions, to which the Jesuits devoted themselves with so much zeal and success, would have relighted the torch of faith in the provinces, and would have brought back to the wholesome doctrines of religion and politics, numbers of those flitting superficial characters, who actually became the sport of irreligious fanaticism, and the victims of republican enthusiasm. At the moment, then, when the French revolution was about to explode, the managers and directors of it would have had fewer means at their command to effectuate their wicked purposes; they would have found, in the principles and religious sentiments of the deputies of the states general, more opposition to anarchy, more horror of the crimes which must for ever blacken our national annals. It is therefore fair to presume, that France would not, at that particular time at least, have been delivered over to the fury of popular faction, nor have been thus disgraced in the eyes of Europe, by the enormity of unprecedented crimes. This presumption is wonderfully strengthened by the paucity of votes in the national assembly, by which the unfortunate Louis XVI was condemned to death; the majority did not exceed five. But

whether France would, at some future period, have become a prey to these political convulsions, to this tyranny of irreligion, is a problem that may, for a time, occupy and engage our prejudices and passions, but never can be solved by full reason and conviction. God alone, whose almighty hand manages the reins of empires, who, from age to age, views, with equal clearness, the past, the present, and the future, can open our eyes to this impenetrable secret. There is, however, one truth, which reason and experience render incontestible. One sometimes gains all, in gaining time against these revolutionary demagogues. Experienced and wise statesmen will, in the mean while, take in hand the reins of government for the safety of the state; they will silence hatred and ambition, restore honour and justice, the natural preservers of religion and morals, coerce the refractory and turbulent, who are seldom accessible to honour, generosity, or any of the refined feelings of the heart, and, in lieu of their dangerous ferocity, will infuse into them a spirit of mildness and love of their country. Thus, at the sound of their voice, shall the elements of civil discord insensibly vanish, faction shall sink into the filthy mire out of which it sprung; and the state, recovering every year a part of its primitive vigour and ancient splendour, shall, with a conscious pride of superiority, bid defiance, as heretofore, to all the efforts of the enemies to its peace, welfare, and prosperity. Although it be not within possibility to demonstrate, that the French revolution would not have taken place, had not the society of Jesuits been destroyed throughout the kingdom, yet may the presumption

fairly stand at the head of the most probable conjecture.

These observations suffice, unquestionably, to convince every rational mind, that this renowned society was a powerful support to the throne of the Bourbons. We add, with the assembly of 1761, that in the colleges under the direction of the fathers of the society, both masters and scholars devoted their talents to the praises of our kings, and to keep alive and active those sentiments of submission, affectionate attachment, and high spirited loyalty, which are ever due to royal majesty and authority. We beg leave to repeat the observation, that the society in France gave frequent instances of their adoption of the maxims of the Gallican church, respecting the independence of the temporal power of princes, and the limitation of the power of the pope. True it is, that Bellarmin and Santarel, have maintained in their writings doctrines upon these important points at variance with those of the Gallican clergy. But then it must be admitted, that in holding those doctrines, they did but follow the common opinions of all the theological schools of Italy; and yet these particular doctrines were not holden by the French Jesuits. Even as far back as the year 1682, they maintained at Bourges the doctrine of the four propositions, as they also did in their colleges in Britanny, namely, at Rennes and Vannes, in the ensuing year. On several public occasions, they formally renounced the privileges granted to their order by the bulls of sovereign pontiffs, in every point that could clash with the laws and usages of the realm, and the liberties of the Galli-

can church.* In the year 1761, by an authentic act signed by all the priests and young Jesuits of every house and college throughout France, they protested, *that they do hold and profess, and always shall and will hold and profess, the doctrine of the French clergy, declared in their assembly of* 1682; *that they are, and ever more shall be, subject and liable to the laws and usages of the realm, as well as any other subjects of his majesty.* Their conduct kept pace with their professions, and more particularly in the affair of the *regale,* they cided with the court, and were blamed for it by many, who were not enemies to the institute. It is moreover certain, that the zeal which the Jesuits in those disputes manifested for the interests of the court, gave strong displeasure to pope Innocent XI; it was referred to in the style of the highest eulogy by M.

* See the depositions taken before the assembly of 1761; viz. *The Answer of the Bishops to the third question put to them by the King.* Although the Jesuits taught the doctrine of the four articles of 1682, they were nevertheless warmly attached to the apostolic see; and if they respected the true liberties of the Gallican church, they held in abhorrence the numerous badges of slavery to which she submitted, disguised under the specious colouring of liberties. Under the description of this slavery, to which the Gallican church had prostituted itself, is the constant and uniform violation of her rights and privileges, by which the parliaments gave so much mischievous scandal in the frequent quarrels about Jansenism; and in holding this language, I speak as spoke Fleury, who, in his *Discourse upon our Liberties,* has these remarkable words. "Some bad French-"man, who had emigrated from his country, might compose a "treatise upon the slavery of the Gallican church, as treatises "have been written upon its liberties; and proofs would not be wanting." See the *Nouveaux Opuscules de Fleury,* p. 96. Paris, 1807. He repeats the same thing, almost in the very same words, in another small work, intituled, *Libertès de l'Eglise Gallicane.* p. 108.

de Novion, at that time president of the parliament, as well as by the attorney general Talon. "And "this," observed the prelates in the assembly of 1761, "proves more irrefragably than the most "elaborate and conclusive argument, that all the "Jesuits are convinced, that the obedience which "they owe to the general of their order by their in- "stitute, is not binding upon them in any thing, "which contravenes their submission and their al- "legiance to the sovereign." The Jesuits, then, were not those blind slaves to the pope and the general as they are constantly represented, with a view to render them suspected and odious in the eyes of their native sovereigns. They were at all times prominently forward in defending and maintaining with zeal all the doctrines defined to be Catholic by the church, against innovators and reformers of every description. But as to scholastic free opinions, they generally followed those of the country in which they were settled; which fairly proves, that they did not sacrifice their conscience to the love of themselves, or the interests of their order; for in every branch of literature, even in theology, there may be opposite opinions maintained by different bodies, as there exist divers and contrariant practices and usages in different nations. Mankind are in general so constituted, that they commonly adopt with partiality the sentiments and opinions prevalent in the country which gave them birth. This is so true, that one may assert with full confidence, and almost absolute certainty, that our doctors of Sorbonne, and our prelates, who have most warmly espoused the defence of the declara-

tion of 1682, would have professed and maintained the doctrine of papal infallibility, and even the temporal authority of the head of the church over earthly sovereigns, had they been born on the other, as they were on this, side of the Alps. This is a necessary effect of the weakness of the human mind, and of the power and influence of education upon it.

In short, the Jesuits gave to the world at large the most brilliant example of their submission to government, at the moment that their suppression was decreed and carried into the most rigorous execution. Driven with ignominy out of their colleges, their noviciates, and their professed houses, stripped of their property and forced into exile, did they make France resound with their plaints and murmurs against the authority which raised its heavy hand upon them? No; in awful silence they adored the sacred designs of Providence, in the destiny of their body; and if, in their many triumphant apologies and defences, they have refuted the false charges and imputations against their order, never did they attempt to insult the magistrates, who condemned them, nor upbraid the prince for having ratified their unjust sentence. Yet they were above four thousand, and most of them were bereft of an asylum to retire to in their misfortune. By this admirable conduct, they demonstrated to their enemies, that the sentiments of dutiful submission to the higher power, which they had so loudly professed, were deeply engraven in the hearts of the professors. They manifestly shewed, that their declarations upon the importance of these sacred duties, had not

been drawn from them by fear, nor dictated by policy, but were the genuine expression and fruit of their doctrine. Be it then freely confessed, that the instructors of youth, who pay such docile and prompt obedience to the sword that smites them, who on every other ground have such claims upon the attachment, affections and esteem of their pupils, cannot fail to inspire into the rising generation, a true love of their country, and an inviolable attachment and loyalty to their prince. True then is it, that France has lost in the Jesuits, a powerful support of the throne and the monarchy, with an academy of learned men, a valuable reunion of teachers of ability and virtue, which form the last rampart of religion and morality. The like irreparable losses to the well-being of a state, were suffered by every country, in which the society was suppressed. Throughout the Austrian dominions, the new opinions countenanced by Joseph II, which threw trouble and disorder into all his states, began to be taught and propogated, from the hour in which the Jesuits were expelled from the universities. In Portugal, the minister Pombal (Carvalho), spread, with unresisted success, all the opinions of of which he avowed himself the patron and protector. Spain found herself bereft of those fine missions of Paraguay, which extended her territories, and helped her to support the charges of the state. In every country, where the dissolution took place, education ran on the decline in the double *ratio* of learning and morality. Science, literature, and the fine arts, were less encouraged and less cultivated; and religion, the basis of social order and policy,

worked less powerfully and less successfully in subduing the passions and checking the vices of mankind. And if, since the re-establisment of the society by Pius VII, the kings of Spain, Naples, and Sardinia, have recalled the Jesuits into their respective states; if the subjects of those states have received them back with a fond enthusiaism, it is, that the experience of half a continued century had intimately convinced them, that this illustrious society, which had been destroyed by calumny, had been vindicated by misfortune.

Impartiality calls upon us to correct an error, into which we inadvertently fell. We have before said, p 27, that *Voltaire had availed himself of his credit to procure the Jesuits to be expelled from China;* in proof of which, we cited his letter to d'Alembert, under date 18th December, 1776; but this letter goes no further, than to express a desire to co-operate in bringing about the expulsion of the Jesuits from China. "*It would be funny enough,*" says Voltaire to his friend, "*to prevent those rascals there from doing mischief in China. That might be brought to bear by the means of the court of Petersburg; but let us begin by thinking of Paris.*"

THE END OF THE DISQUISITION.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

THE ANSWER OF HENRY IV,

KING OF FRANCE,

To the Remonstrances presented by the first President de Harlay, in 1603, *upon the subject of the Re-establishment of the Jesuits.*

I THOROUGHLY conceive your meaning, but you know not mine. You have started difficulties, which, to your minds, appear great and considerable; but it has not occurred to you, that whatever you have been saying to me, I have been turning in my mind for these last eight or nine years. You affect to be experienced statesmen; but you understand no more of state affairs, than I do to draw the pleadings in a law suit.

As to the affair of Poissy, I would have you to know, that matters would have gone much more favourably for the Catholics, if all you had acted your parts as well as one or two Jesuits did, who happened very luckily to be there. There clearly appeared, not indeed the ambition, but the abilities of the Jesuits. I am amazed how you can charge those with ambition, who refuse dignities and prelacies, when offered to them, and who make a special vow to God never to aspire to any preferment; and who seek nothing in this world, but to serve all that are willing to employ them, without pay or reward, If the word Jesuit displease you, why not find fault with

those who stile themselves religious of the Trinity (or Trinitarians). And if you fancy yourselves to be as much of the society of Jesus as they are, why not say that your daughters are as much religious as the nuns, called the daughters of God *(filles Dieu)*; and that you are as much of the order of the Holy Ghost, as my knights and myself. For my part, I would as soon, or rather, be called a Jesuit, than a Dominican or an Augustinian.

The Sorbonne, of which you talk, has condemned them. True; but that was, as you did, without knowing them. And if the old Sorbonne would not know them, out of jealousy, the modern Sorbonne is proud of and esteems them. If they were not fixed in France before, God has reserved that honour for me; and, indeed, I esteem the opportunity of settling them here a very marked favour; and if, heretofore, they were only provisionally admitted, they shall henceforward have a permanent settlement here, both by edict and arrêt. The will of my predecessors kept them here; my will is to establish them here.

The university has opposed them, but that was, either because they excelled others (witness the vast concourse of scholars to their colleges), or because they were not incorporated in the university; which will not be refused to be done, when I shall have ordered it, and when I shall see that they stand in need of being better regulated.

You say, that the most learned amongst you have profitted nothing from them. If the oldest be the most learned, you are certainly right; they had ended their studies before the Jesuits were known in France. Other parliaments, I am informed, hold not this language; nor indeed does all yours. They teach better than others, and that is the true reason why, since their absence, your university is quite abandoned, and students flock after these masters to Douay and out of my kingdom.

To call them a *factious society*, for having been concerned in the league, is a reproach that falls on the times. They thought they did well, as many others did, who

were implicated in that matter; they all mistook, and were deceived together; and they now own that they found my intentions quite contrary to what they had preconceived. But I incline to think that they acted with less malice than others; and I maintain, that their consciences, coupled with the favours they receive from me, will attach their affections more strongly to me, than they before were to the league.

You say, they engage the youth of the most promise; that they discern and pick out the choicest subjects for their society. I commend them for it. When we go to war, do we not make choice of those men that are likely to turn out the best soldiers? and, were there no room for favour amongst you, would you admit any who were not worthy of being admitted to your society, and of having a seat in your parliament? If they furnished you with ignorant teachers and preachers, you would despise them; and now they devote to your service men of ability and talent, you are not pleased. Then, as to the vast estates you say, they possess, it is all calumny and imposture; and I know right well, by the account of the estates re-annexed to the crown, that seven or eight masters could not be maintained at Bourges and Lyon, whereas, when the Jesuits were there, they were thirty or forty in number; but should there be any difficulty on that point, I have provided against it by my edict.

The vow of obedience they make to the pope, will not subject them more to his will, than the oath of allegiance they have taken to me, will bind them not to undertake any thing against their natural sovereign. But their vow does not extend itself to every thing, as is vainly pretended. They only make a vow of obeying the pope, when his holiness thinks fit to send them to labour for the conversion of infidels; and, in fact, by them has it pleased God to convert the Indies. This is what I frequently say; if Spain has employed the Jesuits, why should not France? Are we in a worse plight than others? Why should France fare worse than Spain? If she finds them useful for her subjects, why should not France find them serviceable to hers?

They make their way to get footing whereever they can. So do others. I myself got into my kingdom as well as I could; but it must be allowed, that their patience is great, and I admire it much. For with patience and a regular way of life, they bring about whatever they have in view. I esteem them not one jot the less for what you say of them, that they are strict observers of their vows. Their great care not to alter any thing in their institute will be the cause of their stability and long continuance; and, therefore, in order to maintain and preserve them, I myself would not make any change in their rules. If I have exacted any conditions from them, which may be displeasing to foreigners, better is it that foreigners should receive the law from us, than we from them. Be that as it may, still am I in concord with my own subjects. As to the churchmen, who except against them, at all times has ignorance borne a grudge to learning, and I was fully aware, that as soon as I should mention my intention to recall the Jesuits, two sorts of persons would oppose the design, namely, those of the new religion, and churchmen of irregular conduct, which raised their credit and reputation still more in my eyes.

As to the opinion the pope has of them, I know that he esteems them greatly: so do I. But you do not tell me, that the pope was upon the point of seizing cardinal Bellarmin's books at Rome, for not allowing him as great an extent of jurisdiction, as some other divines do. And you studiously conceal what the Jesuits have latterly maintained, that though the pope could not err, yet that Clement might be deceived. Upon the whole, I am persuaded, that they say no more than others of the papal authority; and if opinions be to be tried, we must quarrel with those of the Catholic church. As to their teaching, that churchmen are not subject to my power and commands, and that kings may be lawfully murdered; we must, on one hand, see what they say upon the subject, and ascertain that they taught it to the youth entrusted to their care. One thing convinces me of the direct contrary, that is, for the last thirty years, during which they have been chiefly entrusted with the educa-

tion of the French youth, above fifty thousand scholars of different conditions in life have gone through their regular course of studies in their colleges, have lived and conversed with them, and not one single individual is to be found, of that vast number, who can give it in evidence, that he ever heard that, or any other doctrine of a similar tendency, taught by the Jesuits. Nay, more, there are some ministers of the new religion that have received their education under them: let these ministers be questioned about the lives of their masters, and their conduct; it is to be presumed, that their report would not be favourable or partial, were it only to justify their own defection from their communion. I know that the experiment has been often made; and the invariable result has been, that they had nothing to object to their moral conduct or doctrine.

As to Barriere, so far was he from having made his confession to a Jesuit, as you say, that the first notice of that attempt I actually received from a Jesuit; and another Jesuit told him, he would be damned to a certainty, if he took that matter in hand. As to Châtel, the torture never could extort from him any charge against Varade or any other Jesuit. If any one had been charged, how came you to spare him? For, he that was apprehended was taken on account of some printed papers that were found in his chamber. And what if a Jesuit had, in fact, perpetrated that foul deed; must all the apostles suffer for one Judas? And must I answer for all the robberies and other crimes which have been, or which may be, committed by persons who have served under me as soldiers? At that time it pleased God to humble and to save me, for which I give him thanks. He teaches me to forgive all offences, and I have done it freely and from my heart for his sake. I pray daily for mine enemies, and am far from remembering what is past, as you, not like very good christians, invite me to do; and for which I am very far from thanking you.

No. II.

THE BULL OF POPE PIUS VII,

By which he Re-establishes the Society of Jesus.

PIUS BISHOP,

SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD—FOR PERPETUATING THE MEMORY HEREOF.

THE care of all the churches confided to our humility by the Divine Will, notwithstanding the disproportion of our deserts and abilities, makes it our duty to employ all the aids in our power, and which are furnished to us by the mercy of Divine Providence, in order that we may be able, so far as the changes of times and places will allow, to relieve the spiritual wants of the catholic world, without any distinction of people and nation.

Wishing to fulfil this duty of our apostolic ministry, as soon as Francis Kareu (then living), and other secular priests resident for many years in the vast empire of Russia, and who had been members of the society of Jesus, suppressed by Clement XIV, of happy memory, had supplicated our permission to unite in a body, for the purpose of being able to apply themselves more easily, in conformity with their institution, to the instruction of youth in religion and good morals, to devote themselves to preaching, to confession, and the administration of the other sacraments, we felt it our duty more willingly to comply with their prayer, inasmuch as the then reigning emperor, Paul I, had warmly recommended the said priests unto us, in his most gracious dispatches to us of the eleventh day of August, 1800, in which, after having expressed his special regard for them, he declared to us, that it would be gratifying to him for the good of the

Catholics of his empire, that the said company of Jesus should be established in his empire under our authority.

We, therefore, considering attentively the great advantages which these vast regions, almost destitute of evangelical workmen, might thence derive, and weighing in our mind the great increase which these clergymen, whose morals and doctrines were holden in such high estimation, would, by their unabated labours, their intense zeal for the good of souls, and their indefatigable preaching of the word of God, occasion to the catholic religion, have thought fit to second the wish of so great and beneficent a prince. In consequence whereof, by our letters, in form of a brief, dated the 7th day of March, 1801, we granted to the said Francis Kareu, and his colleagues residing in Rusia, or who should repair thither from other countries, power to form themselves into a body or congregation of the company of Jesus; that they should be at liberty to unite in one or more houses, to be pointed out by their superiors, provided such houses be situated within the Russian empire. And according to our good liking, and that of the apostolical see, we named the said Francis Kareu general of the said congregation; we authorized them to resume and follow the rule of St. Ignatius of Loyola, approved and confirmed by the constitutions of our predecessor, Paul III. of happy memory, in order that the companions, joined in religious union, might freely engage in the instruction of youth in religion and literature, direct seminaries and colleges, and, with the consent of the ordinaries, to hear confessions, preach the word of God, and administer the sacraments; and we received the said congregation of the company of Jesus under our immediate protection and submission, reserving to ourselves and our successors the right of prescribing and sanctioning every thing that may appear to us proper to consolidate, preserve, and purge it from any abuses or corruption that may by chance have crept into it. And for this purpose, we expressly abrogated such apostolical constitutions, statutes, privileges, and indulgences, granted in contravention to these our concessions, especially

the apostolic letters of Clement XIV, our predecessor, which begin with the words *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*, only in so far as they are contrary to our brief beginning *Catholicæ*, and what was issued only for the Russian empire.

A short time after we had ordained the restoration of the order of Jesuits in Russia, we thought it our duty to grant the same favour to the kingdom of Sicily, on the earnest request of our dear son in Jesus Christ, king Ferdinand, who entreated that the company of Jesus might be re-established in his dominions and states, as it was in Russia, from a conviction, that, in these deplorable times, the Jesuits were the teachers the most capable of forming youth to christian piety and to the fear of God, which is the beginning of wisdom, and to instruct them in literature and science in the colleges and public schools, under the direction of these regular clergymen. The duty of our pastoral charge leading us to second the wishes of so illustrious a prince, in matters which solely concerned the greater glory of God and the salvation of souls, we, by our letters, also in form of a brief, beginning *Per alias*, and dated on the 30th day of July, 1804, extended to the kingdom of the two Sicilies the same concessions which we had made for the Russian empire.

Almost the whole Catholic world demands, with unanimous voice, the re-establishment of the Society of Jesus. We daily receive to this effect the most pressing petitions from our venerable brethren the archbishops and bishops, and the most distinguished characters of every degree and order, more especially since the abundant fruits produced in every country, in which this society has had a footing, have been publicly known.

The very dispersion of the stones of the sanctuary, in those recent calamities, which it is better now to deplore than to keep in reminiscence ; the annihilation of the discipline of the regular orders, (the glory and support of religion and the Catholic church, to the restoration of which all our thoughts and cares are at present directed,) require, that we should accede to a wish so just and

general. We should deem ourselves guilty of a great crime towards God, if, amidst these dangers of the christian republic, we should neglect the aids which the special providence of God had placed at our disposal; and if, seated in the bark of Peter, tossed and assailed by continual storms, we should refuse to employ the vigorous and experienced rowers, who volunteer their services, in order to break the waves of a sea, which threatens every moment shipwreck and death.

Influenced by so many and such powerful motives, we have at length determined to do that which we earnestly wished to have done at the commencement of our pontificate. After having by fervent prayers implored the divine assistance, after having taken the advice and counsel of a great number of our venerable brethren the cardinals of the holy Roman church, we have decreed, with full knowledge, in virtue of the plenitude of apostolical power, and with perpetual validity, that all the grants and powers heretofore made and given by us exclusively to the Rusian empire, and to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, shall henceforth extend to all our ecclesiastical states, as as well as to all other states and dominions.

We therefore grant and allow to our well-beloved son, Thaddeus Barzozowski, at this time general of the society of Jesus, and to such members of the said company, as be duly deputed by him, all suitable and necessary powers, according to the good-liking of us, and of the apostolical see, in order that, throughout such states and dominions, they may freely and validly receive such as wish to be admitted into the regular order of the society of Jesus, who, under the obedience of the general of the order for the time being, shall be distributed into communities, according to the exigency of circumstances, in one or more houses, one or more colleges, or one or more provinces, where they shall regulate their mode of life by the rules prescribed by St. Ignatius of Loyola, as approved of and confirmed by the constitutions of Paul III. We grant, moreover, and declare, that they may freely

and lawfully employ themselves in educating youth in the principles of the Catholic religion, in forming them to good morals, and in directing colleges and seminaries; and also in hearing confessions, in preaching the word of God, and administering the sacraments, with the consent and approbation of the ordinaries of the places where they shall happen to reside. Henceforth we take under our special care, protection, and obedience, as well as that of the holy see, all the colleges, houses, provinces, and members of this order so united, or which may hereafter become so united; always reserving to ourselves and the Roman pontiffs, our successors, full right and authority to ordain and prescribe whatever shall to us appear expedient to consolidate more and more the said society, to strengthen and establish it, and reform any abuses, should any ever creep into it, which God avert.

We exhort, with all our heart, and as much as we can in the Lord, all superiors, provincials, rectors, companions, and students of this established society, to shew themselves, at all times and in all places, faithful imitators of their holy father, to observe with precise exactness the rule prescribed to them by their illustrious founder, and obey, with ever increasing zeal, the useful advices and wholesome counsels which he has left to his children.

In a word, we recommend most earnestly in the Lord the aforesaid frequently mentioned society, and all its members, to our dear sons in Jesus Christ, the illustrious and noble princes and lords temporal, as well as to our venerable brethren the archbishops and bishops, and to all those who are placed in authority; we exhort, we conjure them, not only not to suffer that these religious be in any way molested, but that they be treated with all due kindness and charity.

We ordain, that these presents, and every thing therein contained, shall be inviolably observed, according to the form and tenor thereof, in all time to come; and have their full and entire effect; and that they be so, and not otherwise, judged and defined by all judges, with whatever

powers they may be invested; and declaring null, void, and of no effect, any manner of encroachment upon these our ordinances, either knowingly or from ignorance; and this notwithstanding any apostolical constitutions and ordinances, especially the brief of Clement XIV, of happy memory, beginning with the words *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*, issued under the seal of the fisherman, on the 22d day of July, 1773, which we expressly and specially repeal and annul, as well as every other that is contrary to the intent and tenor of these presents.

It is our will that the same credit be paid to copies, whether in manuscript or print, of our present brief, as to the original itself, provided they have the signature of some notary public, and the seal of some ecclesiastical dignitary.

Let no one then be permitted to infringe, or, by audacious temerity, oppose any part of this ordinance; and should any one take upon himself to attempt it, be it known to him, that he will thereby incur the indignation of Almighty God and of the holy apostles Peter and Paul.

Given at Rome, at Sancta Maria Major, on the 7th day of August, in the year of our Lord 1814, and the 15th year of our pontificate.

A. Card. Pro-Dataire. R. Card. Braschi Honesti.

Revised by the Court, De Testa.

The place † of the seal. F. Lavizzani.

Entered at the Registry of Briefs.

No. III.

ORDINANCES OF THE KING OF SPAIN,

FOR THE

Re-establishment of the Jesuits throughout his States.

THE FIRST ORDINANCE.

DON Ferdinand VII, by the grace of God, king of Castile, Leon, &c. &c. to all the members of my council, presidents, regents, judges of my courts and tribunals, intendants, governors, high and ordinary magistrates of all my good towns, villages, and boroughs, within my kingdoms, as well to those who now, for the time being, do exercise such offices, as those who shall exercise them hereafter, in time to come, and to all other persons, whom the orders contained in my royal edict may in any manner interest or concern,—Know ye, that my secretary of state hath, by my order, from grace and justice, issued an ordinance, bearing date the 29th day of last May, addressed to my council, through the hands of its president, the duke of Infantado, to the following effect:

Since, by the effect of the infinite and special mercy of our blessed Lord, for me and my faithful subjects, I have found myself in the midst of them, reseated upon the glorious throne of my ancestors, I have received, and continue daily to receive, a number of representations, made to me from the provinces, towns, villages, and boroughs of my kingdom, from the archbishops, bishops, clergy, and even the laity, all of whom have laid before

me proofs of the loyalty and attachment, and of the warm interests they take in the temporal and spiritual welfare of my subjects, most earnestly supplicating and imploring me to re-establish, throughout every part of my dominions, the society of Jesus, inviting me in that to follow the example of the other sovereigns of Europe, and especially that of his holiness, who has thought proper to repeal the brief of Clement XIV, bearing date the 21st day of July, 1773, which extinguished the religious regular order of the society of Jesus, by the publication of the famous constitution of the 7th day of last August—*Sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum*. After such respectable precedents, I did whatever lay in my power to ascertain, in the most positive manner, the falsity of the criminal charges laid to the account of the society of Jesus, by their rivals and their enemies, who were, at the same time, the enemies of the most holy religion of Jesus Christ, which is the first fundamental law of my monarchy, and that which my glorious predecessors ever protected and defended, with heroic firmness and constancy, thereby fulfilling the obligation, which the title of *Most Catholic*, which has ever been allowed them up to this day, by all other sovereigns, imposed upon them, and that zeal and example, which, with the help of God, I wish and hope to follow. I have at length brought myself to the thorough conviction, that the real enemies of religion and kingly government, were the very persons who had laboured, with the most earnestness, at rendering the society of Jesus odious, at dissolving it, at persecuting its unoffending members, by employing against it the vilest intrigues, the foulest calumny, and the most ridiculous imputations. It has all been proved by experience, from the moment that the society of Jesus was abolished, to the triumph of impiety; from that same moment we beheld the same means employed, by the same men, during the deplorable period which ensued, to upset several thrones; which disastrous events would never have taken place, had the society of Jesus maintained its footing; it was an

impregnable rampart of the holy religion of Jesus Christ, the doctrines, precepts, and counsels of which alone can render subjects so valiant and estimable, as mine have, to the admiration of all mankind, proved themselves, during my absence. The very same audacious enemies of the society, they, who have levelled the most sacrilegious propositions against their holy founder, against their institute and rules, have, nevertheless, been forced to allow the rapid progress of its establishments, the credit and reputation which it acquired, the admirable wisdom and prudence of its government; that its pre-eminent excellency in educating youth had been of incalculable utility, from the active zeal and assiduous application of all its members to the learned languages; that to their efforts is it chiefly owing that such progress has been made in literature and science; that it has produced the ablest professors in the several branches of science; that it may fairly boast of having furnished a greater number of valuable authors, than all the other religious orders taken collectively; that in the new world, they have given the brightest lustre to their talents, by devoting them to the relief and welfare of humanity; that the pretended crimes that have been laid to their charge, affected, at most, some few individuals; that by far the great majority of the society of Jesuits occupied themselves constantly in the attainment of science, in the practical administration of our holy religion, guided by the soundest principles of morality, ever tending to alienate men from vice, and lead them in the ways of justice and virtue. Notwithstanding what has been said above, as my august grandfather had reserved, in his royal heart, the just and weighty motives which, he said, he had for sending all the Jesuits out of his states, by his pragmatic sanction of the 2d day of April, 1767; and as I have, on the other hand, a thorough knowledge of the spirit of religion which animated him, of his wisdom and experience in the sublime and difficult art of governing, and as this matter, from its nature, its relations, and consequences,

must be considered and discussed in my council, in order that I may avail myself of their advice, and adopt the most salutary measures; therefore did I lay before them the several applications made to me to re-establish the Jesuits; and I doubt not, but they will give me the best advice, and such as will best suit my royal person, my states, and the spiritual and temporal welfare of my subjects. As, however, I can form no idea that my council can object to the expediency, or rather necessity, of re-establishing the Jesuits, and as I have been latterly more urgently than ever implored to re-establish them, I do hereby ordain, that the order of Jesuits be provisionally re-established in all the towns and villages which have asked for them, notwithstanding whatever may have been ordained by the said pragmatic sanction of the 2d of April, 1767, notwithstanding any law or ordinance upon the subject passed or made since that time, all of which I repeal and annul, as far as is requisite, for the towns and villages to enjoy, instantly, the re-establishment of all colleges, houses, professed houses, noviciates, residences, and missions, which they before enjoyed; and that without prejudice to the extension of the same establishment of all that formerly did exist in my states; provided, nevertheless, that all such as are established by this royal ordinance, or such as may hereafter be so established, be subject to such laws and ordinances as I shall think fit to make, as well for the greater glory and prosperity of the monarchy, as for the better economy and administration of the society of Jesus, to which I must give protection, as I do to all the other religious orders established in my states, in virtue of that supreme and administrative authority which I hold of God to govern my subjects, and ensure respect for my throne. You will observe this as said, and make it known to whomever it concerns, for its due execution.

Given in my palace on the 9th day of June, 1815,

I, THE KING.

THE SECOND ORDINANCE.

Don Ferdinand VII, by the grace of God, king of Castile, Léon, &c. &c. to all the members of my council, presidents, regents, judges of my courts and tribunals, intendants, governors, high and ordinary magistrates of all my good towns, villages, and boroughs of my kingdoms, as well to those, who now, for the time being, do exercise such offices, as those who shall exercise them hereafter, in time to come, and to all other persons whom the orders contained in my royal edict may in any manner, interest, or concern—Know ye, that since, by the infinite mercy of God, and the very special protection which he has shewn, as well in regard to my own person as to my most loyal and well-beloved subjects, I found myself replaced on the throne of my renowned ancestors, there has been no cessation of my receiving repeated entreaties and supplications from the provinces, towns, boroughs, and hamlets of my kingdom, which has been presented to me by the most right and reverend archbishops and other prelates, and also from several of the laity; all tending to urge me, in the most impressive terms, to re-establish the society of Jesus within my states; setting forth the great advantages that would result from it to my subjects, exhorting me in that to follow the advantages of other sovereign powers of Europe, and more especially that of his holiness, who did not think that he could dispense himself from the obligation and duty of repealing the brief of Clement XIV, dated the 21st day of July, 1773, by which the order of the Jesuits was abolished, and to issue his celebrated constitution of the 7th day of August of the last year, beginning with the words *Sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum.* Now, as this matter, from its nature, relations, and results, was worthy of being examined and discussed in our council, in order that, after their advice; I might come to some wise and well-weighed determination, I laid before them the several representations made

to me upon the subject; but, at the same time, unable to form even a surmise that my council would not be alive to the utility and necessity of re-establishing the society of Jesus, which was solicited with redoubled ardour, I deemed it expedient to issue my ordinance of the 29th of last May, and which I communicated to them on the same day, and by which I ordered, in the mean time (provisionally), the re-establishment of the order of the Jesuits in all the towns, villages, and boroughs, which should desire it, notwithstanding the pragmatic sanction of the 2d day of April, 1767, and all subsequent laws and ordinances which I annulled, with a view to effectuate the instant re-establishment of the colleges, convents, professed houses, noviciates, residences, and missions, in the towns and boroughs aforementioned; without prejudice of extension to the same establishment, to all those which ever had existed in my kingdoms, and also all those that should be re-established by that ordinance, as well as those which may become so by virtue of any determination I may make, with the advice of my council, for the greater glory and prosperity of the monarchy, and for the better administration and economy of the society, following up in that regard the principle of protection which I give to all other religious institutions in my states, and of the supreme administrative authority, which the Almighty has placed in my hands, to enable me to work for the welfare of my people, and to ensure respect for my crown. For effectuating my royal intentions, I issued my ordinance of the 9th of June in that same year. By another of the 19th of the October following, I created a special commission, charged to proceed upon re-establishing the Jesuits in every town, village, and borough that had solicited their re-establishment. I also granted them the necessary powers and jurisdiction to carry the object into effect, giving orders to all the offices of the ministers of state, those of justice, of the council, of the tribunals, of the archives, and depositaries of documents and titles, to furnish the commission whatever it should demand,

and all documents that it should judge necessary, and enjoining it to consult me upon every incident in their proceedings, that should require my royal approbation, and to report to me, from time to time, through my ministers of state and justice, their progress in an affair of such high importance. My council, after having been attended by and having heard the arguments of professional advocates, and having debated upon and ascertained the points which I charged them to investigate on the 22d of January, have induced me to come to the following resolution:

I hereby ordain, that the permission which I granted on the 29th of last May, repealing the pragmatic sanction and the laws and royal ordinances which are therein quoted, for the re-establishment of the society of Jesus, in the towns and boroughs which had solicited me for it, at that period, shall be extended generally and without any limitation to all my states, as well in Old Spain as to the Indies and the islands adjacent thereto, wherever they had any establishment before their banishment. I authorize and give all necessary authorities to the present superiors, and to all those who, in time to come, shall become superiors, to enable them to put in practice all the customs and usages of a religious life, the full and free exercise of their profession, by conforming in every thing to the whole institute and rules of their holy founder, approved by Roman pontiffs, and in conformity with the declaration made by his present holiness, in his apostolical constitution, beginning with the words *Sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum*, given at Rome on the 7th day of Aug. 1814. Desiring that the re-establishment of the society may be effected with all the dispatch that I intend, and which suits the spiritual and temporal welfare of my kingdoms, I order and command that restitution be immediately made to them of all houses, colleges, convents, habitations, goods, and rent-charges which were seized at the time of their expulsion, which are now in existence, but upon condition that they fulfil all the duties and charges, as well teach-

ing as of other services, to which they were subject and liable, and which were acknowledged to have belonged to them. I except out of this restitution all property, goods, and other effects, actually sold or alienated for valuable consideration, either to corporate bodies or to individuals; also such as have passed by regular donation into the hands of any public institution, so that they cannot be disannexed without producing public evil. In a word, I charge this new special commission, created for carrying on this re-establishment, in execution of my ordinance, never to lose sight of the rules marked out for regulating their conduct; and, in case of any difficulty or doubt, to propose to me the means most likely to avoid prejudice and complaints, and to reconcile the restitution of the colleges and houses with the service of God, the good and happiness of my people, which is the only object I propose to attain. I charge the most and right reverend archbishops, bishops, chapters of our holy churches, vicars general, archpriests, and other ecclesiastical judges of our kingdoms, to concur in the execution of this my present ordinance, and for this purpose to give whatever orders they may deem suitable, for such is my will.

Given in my palace on the 3d day of May, 1816,

I, THE KING.

FINIS.

Andrews, Printer, Garlick Hill, London.

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